



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

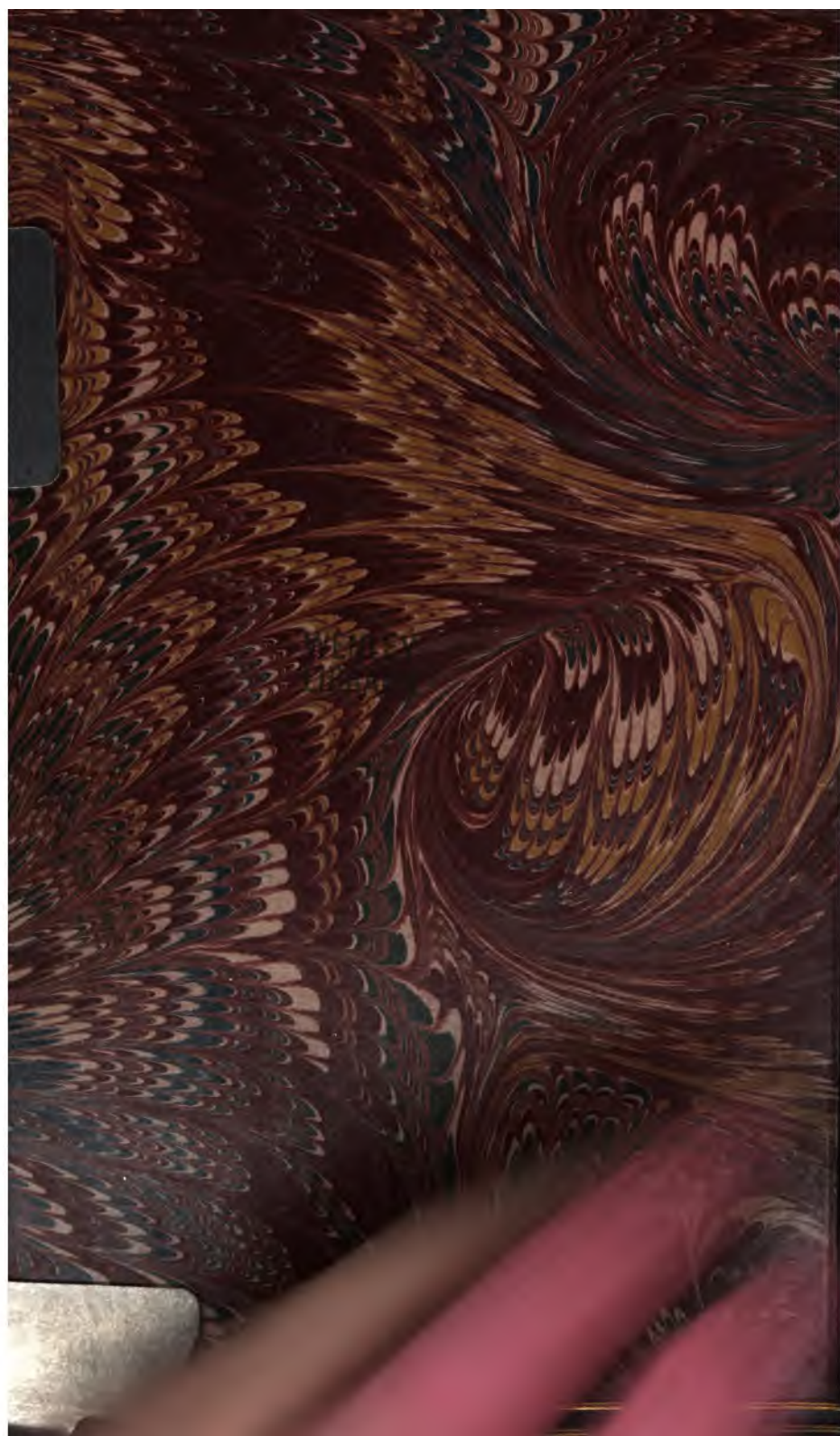
- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

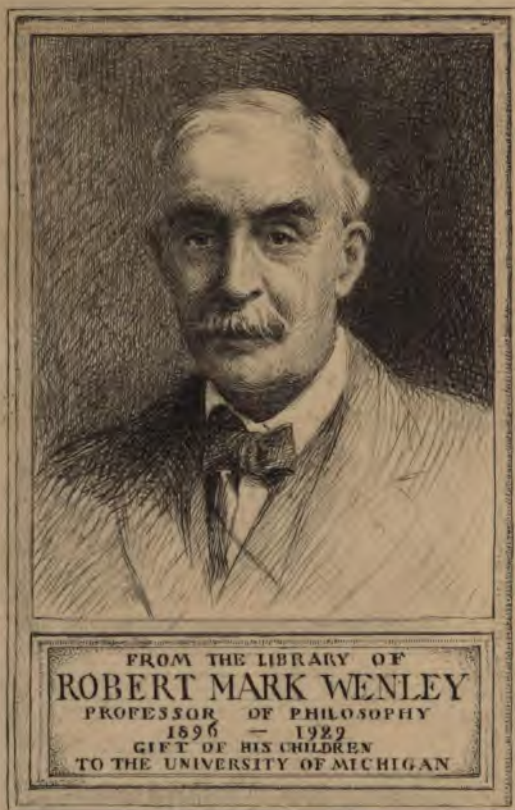
A 412758







BR
165
.B95



W. H. Dickson del. et sc.
1925

R.M.U.

THE HIDDEN WISDOM OF CHRIST.

VOL. I.

LONDON
PRINTED BY SPOTTISWOODE AND CO.
NEW-STREET SQUARE

Bunsen, Ernst von

THE
HIDDEN WISDOM OF CHRIST
AND THE
KEY OF KNOWLEDGE:
OR
HISTORY OF THE APOCRYPHA.

BY ERNEST DE BUNSEN.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
LONGMAN, GREEN, LONGMAN, ROBERTS, & GREEN.
1865.

10-24-38
2 vol.

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12

DEDICATED
TO
THE MEMORY
OF
THE CHAMPIONS OF TRUTH
IN
ALL AGES.

PREFACE.

THE DOCTRINE OF JESUS cannot be known as it ought to be until two problems shall have been solved.

In the first place, some additional light must be thrown on the last pre-Christian development of Judaism, and on its connexion with Christianity. In the second place, a satisfactory reason must be assigned for the mysterious fact, that the first three Evangelists have evidently agreed not to refer to any of those important sayings of Christ, which have been recorded only by the beloved Apostle, whose Gospel was not published before an advanced period of the second century.

It is the object of the following investigations on the origin and development of apocryphal tradition, and especially on 'the Hidden Wisdom' of Christ, to suggest a Scriptural solution of these all-important problems, and thus to further the knowledge of 'the truth as it is in Jesus.'

ABBEE LODGE, REGENT'S PARK, LONDON :

December 1864.

CONTENTS

OF

THE FIRST VOLUME.

CHAPTER I.

ADAM THE REFORMER.

	PAGE
Original Text and Verbal Tradition of the Aryans—Migration from Bactria to the Indus—Biblical Reference to the same .	1

CHAPTER II.

THE JEWISH REFORMATION.

Parties in the Jewish Church—Origin and Development of the Secret, Hidden or Apocryphal Tradition	31
--	----

CHAPTER III.

PHILO OF ALEXANDRIA.

Development of Apocryphal Tradition or Jewish Gnosticism .	121
--	-----

CHAPTER IV.

THE PREACHING OF JESUS CHRIST.

Introduction—Christ and the Pharisees—Christ and His Disciples —Christ and the Jews—Christ and the Apocrypha—Christ and Philo—Christ's Second Coming	137
--	-----

CHAPTER V.

THE GOSPEL REVEALED TO PAUL.

Introduction—The Hidden Wisdom—The Other' Gospel—Paul and Apollos—Ephesians—Colossians—Philippians—Philemon —Timothy—Conclusion	211
---	-----

CHAPTER VI.

THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.

Introduction—Father, Son and Spirit—The Two Covenants—	PAGE
The Rule of Faith—Conclusion	298

CHAPTER VII.

THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS.

Docetic Development of Gnosticism	340
---	-----

CHAPTER VIII.

ORIGIN OF THE ROMAN CHURCH.

Introduction—Epistle of Clement—Shepherd of Hermas—Gnosticism and Doceticism—Ignatius—Ignatian Epistles—Polycarp—Justin Martyr—Marcion	362
--	-----

ERRATA.

Page 1, line 14 from top, *read*: the great descendent.

" 20, "	15	" "	lead one.
" 21, "	17	" "	Polytheism.
" 48, "	4	" "	comp. Jer. vii. 11.
" 81, "	34	" "	to the time when Set was the name of God in Egypt, when the principles. . .
" 95, "	32	" "	a complete offering.
" 327, "	7	" "	'afar off,' and which not all had received.
" 327, "	9	" "	they had not all received.
" 327, "	19	" "	whilst only such as Abraham were 'mindful of that country from whence they came out . . . now.'
" 327, "	24	" "	which only 'the just. . .'
" 327, "	25	" "	did receive.

CHAPTER I.

ADAM THE REFORMER.

ORIGINAL TEXT AND VERBAL TRADITION OF THE ARYANS—MIGRATION FROM
BACTRIA TO THE INDUS—BIBLICAL REFERENCE TO THE SAME.

‘When the Gentiles, who have not the law, do by nature the things contained in the law, these, having not the law, are a law unto themselves.’—Rom. ii. 14.

RELIGION is a definition and a manifestation of the relations between man and his God; between the free creature and the free Creator. Whatever value we may assign to records of other religions, the record of the religion of the chosen people Israel must always be regarded as the pearl of great price. It shows the gradual development of God’s revelation to man; the sowing, the growing, and the reaping of the Divine Word. For the Bible is the mirror, which reflects to the believer in God’s supernatural action upon his soul, the history of that action upon the chosen men of a chosen people, whilst admitting a similar action on humanity at large, and thus defining the connection between natural and revealed religion.

CHAP.
I.

Introduc-
tion.

Abraham, the ancestor of the chosen race, the first descendant of Shem, was called and chosen by God. He lived in ‘Ur of the Chaldees,’ and received the Divine command to quit ‘the land of the Chaldæans.’¹ Leaving the southern declivity of the Armenian table-land, the mountains of the Chaldæans, the patriarchal family, perhaps followed by many others, pursued its southward

Abraham.

¹ Acts vii. 4.

CHAP.
I.

Zoroaster.

course towards the Land of Promise. The sacred records do not inform us which were the relations of 'the friend of God,' of 'the father of the faithful,' with the other inhabitants of Southern Asia. But we know that these same and the adjoining districts were inhabited by mighty tribes, which about the year 1230¹ were subjugated by the Assyrians. Among the inhabitants of these countries were the Bactrians, who were at this time ruled over by native kings, and who possessed the north-eastern part of that district which in later times formed the Persian province of Iran. Here it was that Zoroaster, the great reformer of the Aryan faith, promulgated his doctrine, the leading principles of which have been transmitted to us by the 'Avesta,' that is, 'the living Word,' or, as others translate it, 'the original text.' This original text formed the written law, which may have been interpreted, even from the earliest times, by an oral or verbal tradition which was called 'Zend,' and was in course of time committed to writing. Thus another, or second law, a Deuteronomy, was added to 'the original text' of 'the Holy Word.' And the compendiums of the written and the oral law were combined under the title of 'Avesta-Zend,' or 'Zend-Avesta.' At first, the written law, the Avesta, and then the oral law, the Zend, would be regarded as most important; and thus the change from Avesta-Zend to Zend-Avesta might be explained. We shall later refer to a famous passage in the most ancient part of the Avesta, where the two laws, that is the originally written and the originally unwritten tradition are recognised as authoritative. It has been shown that the ancient 'Yasna,' or 'sacrifice,' probably formed originally a separate book, called 'the Holy Word';² it is several times referred to as authoritative Scripture in the younger Yasna, the Vis-

¹ Comp. Dunker, 'Geschichte des Alterthums,' I. 274.

² Comp. Haug's 'Essays on Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsees,' Bombay 1862. Also Haug's 'Gatha's des Zarathustra;' and Spiegel's 'Avesta,' Leipz. 1860.

parat and the Vendidad, which books form the most ancient part of the Avesta as transmitted to us. According to the opinion of all interpreters of the Avesta, the Yasna contains writings of Zoroaster himself, who had received Divine revelations, for which reason the Yasna is the only part of the Avesta which claims to be Divinely inspired. Zoroaster, or rather Zarathustra Spitama, a 'messenger' of God, who listens to the voice of the Spirit, lived under the reign of the Bactrian King Vistaspa, who was the sixth king whose name is mentioned by historical tradition. We do not know how many kings ruled in Bactria between the government of Vistaspa and that of Oxathres, who was about the year 1230 conquered by Ninus, the founder of the Assyrian empire. But since the father of Vistaspa is mentioned in the Book of the Kings as the builder of Bactra, the capital, it is more than probable that Vistaspa belonged to the very earliest kings of Bactria. If Oxathres could oppose 400,000 men to the Assyrians, and if Ninus had to bring two millions of warriors into the field (as Ctesias reports), before he could effect the previously attempted subjugation of his Bactrian rival, we may assume that a long period intervened between the founder of the capital and the last of the Bactrian kings. This hypothesis would be strengthened were we to accept the tradition recorded by Pliny and others, according to which Zoroaster lived about the year 6429 B.C.

A further confirmation of this view is contained in the fact, that in the Avesta, with the earlier part of which the life of the Aryan Reformer is intimately connected, neither Egbatana, founded about the year 700, nor Pasargarda, nor Persepolis, are mentioned, and that neither Nineveh nor Babylon seem to have existed at the time when the original text of Zoroaster's revelations were committed to writing. This is all the more remarkable, since the principal places known to the ancient Bactrians are carefully enumerated in the Avesta. It mentions in

CHAP.
I.

the East the hot country of the seven rivers ('hepta hendu'), that is India, and in the South the lovely 'Harakaiti,' Archosia. It knows 'Haetumat-Drangiana,' or Sedchestan; it specifies in the North 'Airyana vaêjô,' or the Aryan home; 'Sugdhu,' or Sogdiana; 'Bakhdhi,' or Balkh; 'Muru,' or Merv, that is the country of the Margus; 'Haraju,' the 'hariva' in the Cuneiform inscriptions, that is the country of the Aryans; 'Sarkana,' the land of wolves, Hyrkania; 'Mezenderan,' and 'Ragha,' which consists of three castles. The latter is the most westerly point mentioned in the Avesta, and it is further described as the seat of 'the wicked and exceeding great doubt.' Now, Ragha is situated on the eastern frontier of Media, and it is difficult to conceive why the capital of Media should not have been mentioned if it had existed at that time.

Heden.

Another proof of the high antiquity which must be assigned to the age of Zoroaster is derived from the circumstance that he is stated in the Avesta to have been born in the aboriginal home of the Aryans, in Airyana vaêjô, the first place where, according to Aryan tradition, God assembled living creatures.¹ Although Zoroaster was probably born in Bactria, yet 'the celebrated one of Airyana vaêjô,'² the son of Pourushâspa, was by tradition

¹ 'Abraham and Zoroaster issue forth, about five thousand years ago, from a dark chaos of middle Asiatic life; the former as Prophet of the Spirit in western Asia, the latter as witness of the moral consciousness of God in Eastern Asia. They both stand in the midst of a great and ancient civilisation, and move in a wonderfully propelling activity of the tribes and people of that part of the world. On the other side of the Euphrates Abraham looks back towards the wide plains of Aram, and beyond them into the ancestral land, Arpaksad, the Assyro-Armenian mountains of Arrapakhitis. Zoroaster and his disciples look back upon the lost home in the north, in that once paradise-like land on the sources of the Oxus and Jaxartes, towards Pamer, the Upameru of the ancients, and towards the northern Mountain of Gods, of the tradition of which we find a later echo even among the prophets of the Hebrews (Is. xiv. 13; comp. Ez. xxviii. 14).' See Bunsen's 'Gott in der Geschichte,' 1858, of which an English translation is now being prepared for publication by Miss Winkworth.

² Yas. ix. 14.

thus connected with Haedinesh or Heden, 'the land of charm,' where a 'paradise,' that is, a fenced garden or park, was in primordial times laid out by Divine command, and probably was situated near the sources of the Oxus and Yaxartes. Into this place of refuge, according to Aryan tradition the cradle of mankind, where the winter lasted ten months, of every living thing, both of the animal and of the vegetable kingdom, 'two of every sort,' were to be admitted. Zoroaster asks God, who was 'the first man' with whom he conversed, and the Prophet receives the answer that God first conversed about 'the law' with 'Hom,' or 'Yima,' that is with King 'Jemshid' of Aryan tradition, who, however, would not promulgate the Divine law revealed to him. Hereupon the first man with whom God spoke, and who obeyed his voice, was Zoroaster, who is called 'the beautiful,' and 'the pure-born,'¹ whom God commanded to 'spread'² over God's worlds and to make them 'fruitful.' This seems to refer to the historical fact that in the time of Zoroaster the ancestors of the Indo-Germanic races, the Aryans, began to spread over God's world. The earliest migration took place in prehistorical times, under King Jemshid, and the account of this exodus, prefixed to one of the most ancient books of the Avesta, the Vendidad, must have been preserved by oral tradition for a long time before it was committed to writing. This aboriginal migration had for its starting point 'the Aryan home,' in the highlands of Central Asia, perhaps on the western slopes of the Belurdagh and the Musdagh. The Aryan emigrants seem to have taken a westerly course, since the places mentioned in this migration-account as lying towards the north and north-east of ancient Bactria, are recorded in exactly the same order, in which emigrants coming from the east and going to the west would reach them; so

CHAP.
I.Aboriginal
migration.¹ Yas. xi. 25.² The name given to this race in the records of the Bible is Japhet, which means according to some interpreters 'to spread.'

CHAP.
I.

that we may regard Sugdhu, Bakhdhi and Muru, as the principal halting-places of the primordial Aryan migration from Airyana to Berekhdha, or Bâkhdhi, that is, from the Aryan to the Bactrian home. What concerns us, and what we have here to consider, are the historical migrations of the Aryan race from the kingdom of Bactria; the first of which is the migration of Aryan tribes, in the time of Zoroaster, to the confines of the Indus, from whence, at a later period, they spread to the plains of the Ganges.

Migration
to the
Indus.

It has been fully established that the light-coloured Indians, who called themselves Aryans, migrated from the Bactrian mountains first into the valley of the Indus, where they met with the non-Aryan races, the Dasyus of the Veda, now called Turanians, and by some Cushites. These Aryan immigrants called the great river 'Sindhu,' that is, 'Stream,' and its aboriginal inhabitants 'Saindhava,' from which name the Greeks formed the word 'Indoi.' The cause of this migration was a serious conflict between different tribes of the Aryan family, who had up to this time lived peaceably together in the Bactrian mountains. Originally the Aryans were all shepherds and led a nomadic life, but before the foundation of the Aryan state in Bactria, agriculture must have been resorted to by some of the Aryan brother-tribes. It may, perhaps, even be conjectured that fencing off particular districts in the aboriginal 'home' of the Aryans was a practice which denotes, if not the first introduction of agriculture to a nomadic race, at least the difficulties which must necessarily arise between brother-tribes pursuing in increasing numbers the common avocation of grazing their flocks. In the time of Zoroaster it had become advisable to urge the necessity of cultivating the ground, and to discourage the nomadic habits of the Aryans. But it would seem that hereupon a division arose between the brother-tribes; some were ready to remain in the country which they then inhabited, whilst others directed their attention to emigration. The separa-

tion would, perhaps, not then have taken place had Zoroaster not occasioned a schism in the Aryan family by promulgating the divine revelations which he claimed to have received from God himself.

CHAP.
I.

In order to do this with due solemnity and effect, Zoroaster summoned a monster-meeting of all the Aryan tribes, and standing before the sacred fire, he addressed his countrymen in a metrical speech, which has been preserved to us, and the chief tendency of which is 'to induce his countrymen to leave the worship of the devas, or gods—that is, polytheism—to bow only before Ahura-Mazda (the living Wise One), and to separate themselves entirely from the idolaters.' This was the cardinal point of Zoroaster's reform. But the prophet of the living God was also 'the prophet of agriculture and civilization.' A true perception of the duties of man towards God must lead to the due performance of man's duties towards his neighbour. Among these stands foremost the cultivation of the soil, as the most efficacious means of checking the influences of wicked men and evil spirits. 'The primeval Spirit—the essence of truth, the creator of life, who manifests his life in his works—first created through his inborn glory, the multitude of celestial bodies; and through his mind the good creatures, governed by the inborn good mind.' He, 'the living and everlasting Spirit,' makes them to 'grow,' and to be led by His Spirit, that is, by 'the inborn good mind.' This Divine Spirit in the world has first dwelt with 'the tiller of the soil,'¹ and it has then visited 'him who does not cultivate it.' Of these two (the agriculturist and the herdsman) she (Armaiti, the spirit of the world) chose the pious cultivator, the propagator of life, whom she blessed with the riches produced by the good mind. All who do not till the earth, and who '*continue* to worship the devas, have no share' in 'the good tidings,'² or gospel.

Aryan
Reform.

¹ The word Aryan has been derived from 'Ar,' the plough.

² Yasna xxxi. 7-10.

CHAP.
I.

Obliged to choose between the new worship of the one and living God and the pursuit of agriculture at home on the one side, or the worship of many gods, and the nomadic life abroad on the other, some of the brother-tribes finally decided to separate from the rest, and taking an easterly course settled on the banks of the Upper Indus. We are not told whether bloody struggles preceded this separation of the Aryan brothers. The nomadic tribes may well have complained of being thus driven out from the face of that beloved part of the earth where they and their ancestors had dwelled, and of being forced to become fugitives and vagabonds on the earth, where death by violence might await them. Again, the great reformer and lawgiver, patronised as he was by the King of the Land, may have felt that the departing tribe were entitled to every kind of protection which could be extended to them previous to their exodus, and during the same. The prophet may well have considered it necessary to declare that sevenfold vengeance should be taken on those who might act in a hostile manner to the brother-tribe which was going out from the presence of the Lord in order to dwell in countries unknown.

Time of
migration.

We know not how many centuries the immigrant tribes of the Aryans may have lived on the banks of the Indus. Not only had they to conquer the non-Aryan, that is the Turanian races, which had settled in these districts before them, but in course of time they had likewise to defend themselves against the attacks of other Aryan tribes, who followed their example in quitting the Bactrian home of their forefathers. Long indeed must have been the period of time during which the conquests were effected to which the songs of the Veda refer, and which were written on the banks of the Indus.¹ Here it suffices to point out, that about the year 1300 B.C. the Aryans had not only conquered the countries of the Ganges, which river is not mentioned in the ancient Vedas, but that

¹ Comp. Max Müller's work on the Veda.

they then already formed a regularly organised state, ruled over by a national king. It was about this time that the last king of their Aryan brethren in Bactria was subjugated by the founder of the Assyrian empire. We have seen that Zoroaster lived during the reign of Vistaspa, the son of the founder of the capital of Bactria; that at this time the Aryan emigration to the Indus took place, and that this led to the occupation of the countries on the Ganges, which formed part of an Aryan kingdom about the year 1300 B.C. Thus we are enabled to assert, that the long period of conquest on the Indus, during which the Vedas were written, and when the Ganges was as yet not reached by the Aryan immigrants, marks the undefined time which elapsed between the reign of King Vistaspa, and of Oxothres the last king of Bactria. It must to a certain extent be left to conjecture, how many centuries must have elapsed between the Aryan exodus in the time of Zoroaster, and the time which marks the formation of the Aryan kingdom on the Ganges. But, judging from the precedents established by similar migrations, conquests and settlements which history records, the opinion, otherwise supported, that a thousand years and more may be assigned to this eventful period, seems worthy of being considered. If we accept it, then, Zoroaster was the contemporary, if not the forerunner, of Abraham.

It is difficult not to connect somehow or other the Semitic Patriarch with the descendants of the Aryan race.¹

¹ According to an ancient Jewish tradition recorded in the writings of Philo, in the Mishnah, and in later writings, Abraham was at first taught Chaldean doctrines, and it was at a later period of his life that he was led to know the true God. Again, according to the 'Recognitions,' which as we shall see were written in the second century, although they probably contain parts which were written in the first, Abraham is asserted to have had three sons, the last of whom, Isaac, was born after that *his ignorance had been removed* by revelation. Only Isaac's descendants can therefore be in possession of the whole truth, while the descendants of Ishmael are barbarians, and those of Eliezer (Gen. xv. 12) *the progenitor of the Persians*, received only *fragments of the truth* (Rec. i. 33). The object of the writer clearly is to show that Zoroaster was a descendant of Abraham, but that he descended from a son born before the revelation to the patriarch.

CHAP.
I.Biblical
allegory.

The biblical record declares the home of his forefathers to have been the region of the Chaldæan mountains, which was probably inhabited by the Aryan race. It is acknowledged that the Bible-records referring to the time previous to Abraham, and which were transmitted to later generations by the descendants of the ancestor of the Hebrew race, in some instances admit of an allegorical interpretation. Thus even the name of Noah may possibly have been chosen for the purpose of referring to the time of the flood. It is well known that the word Noah is derived from the Aryan root 'na' or 'nach,' which means water, from which the Indian 'naus,' the Latin 'navis,' and the German 'nachen' and 'nass' are derived; whilst in the language of some of the Indian tribes up to the present day, 'noa' means to drink, and 'noka' the source. Again, the names of 'the sons of Noah' clearly denote the countries occupied in remote ages by the different races of mankind, occupying the northern, the central, and the southern parts of the then known world. And although it is natural to suppose that the Semitic writer believes Shem to have been either the eldest son, or the representative of the first tribe of the postdiluvian family, yet in the ethnographic account contained in the 10th chapter of Genesis, one of the most ancient historical documents in the Bible, Japhet, though probably not actually declared to be 'the elder,'¹ is mentioned before his brothers, when the people represented by his 'sons' are enumerated,² as if these were the first-born among the nations.³ Again, the sons of Shem, that is Elam, Asshur, Arpaxad, Lud, and Aram, are here enumerated in regular order from east to west, Aram closing the list on the borders of the 'Western Sea,' that is of the Mediterranean. This points to an aboriginal migration from the north-east, to which the name and the history of Abraham refers. And finally,

¹ Gen. x. 21.² Gen. x. 2.³ According to Greek mythology Japetos, the husband of the Asia, was the ancestor of the human race.

are we not permitted to explain ethnologically also the biblical records referring to the sons of Adam? And if we do so, can it be denied that this remarkable account may be intended as a figurative reference to that great historical event which we have just considered, that is, to the separation of the Aryan shepherds from the Aryan tillers of the ground? Every part of the story can be so explained, excepting that in the biblical record it is the tiller of the ground, and not the shepherd, who leaves the terrestrial paradise for a distant country.

CHAP.
I.

This very marked difference between the two accounts may be explained without assuming later corrections of the text. The Semitic writer, whose allegory might in his time be understood to refer to this event of the past, would naturally enough claim for Abel, the representative of his tribe, the more honoured occupation of a shepherd. For a pastoral life is by the writer considered as especially protected ever since its Divine consecration; whilst the culture of the ground, like the latter itself, is by him considered as 'cursed' for the sake of man, ever since he had eaten the fruit of 'the tree of knowledge.' We see that the harmony between the two accounts is sufficient to lead us to the conjecture that the sons of Adam in the biblical account may, like the sons and grandsons of Noah, be explained ethnographically. And this the biblical account obliges us to do. For if Cain and Abel are taken to be the first children of the first created pair, Cain could not, after the murder of Abel, have dreaded to be found out and slain by any man, excepting by his parents, from whose presence he fled to a distant country. Nor can the assumption remove the difficulty that although Eve had no third son till after the murder of Abel, she may have had daughters, which the Bible does not mention, because they may have left Eden for some reason or other. For though Cain's wife might be supposed to have been one of these apocryphal sisters of his, he could not have dreaded the revenge of the others,

Japhetic
and Semi-
tic account.

CHAP. I. nor referred to them in such general terms. Again, why should Cain the brother or the uncle have been marked?

Let us compare the principal features of both accounts. The descendants of a family are divided into shepherds and tillers of the soil. Both offer up sacrifice, but only the sacrifice of one party is well-pleasing to God; and this circumstance is the principal cause of both parties not continuing to live together in peace. A separation takes place by emigration, according to both accounts; but murder is by the Semitic account stated to have been the immediate cause of separation. Yet, as this murder is occasioned by the fact, in which both accounts agree, that only the sacrifice of the one party was acceptable to God, the addition of this feature in the biblical account cannot be urged as a cardinal difference. Moreover it may be conjectured, from the Japhetic or Aryan account, that the separation was not effected without deeds of violence. The emigrating party, according to both accounts, adhered to a religion not pleasing to God; God did not respect the sacrifice of the same; it went away from the presence of the Lord, that is, it served many gods. The fugitive party went towards the east of that Eden where God had manifested His presence. It migrated to the banks of the Upper Indus; there it may have mixed itself up with the aboriginal inhabitants of these districts; at all events, it established itself there and built cities. The land of Nod, on the East of Eden, has already been identified with India ('Han-Nod'), and the city of Enoch (Khānoch), with the north-Indian city of 'Chanoge,' celebrated in the early epics of the Hindoos, and called by the ancients Canogyza, of which the narrator might have heard.¹

Adam the
Reformer.

If, then, we are obliged to explain figuratively this account in Genesis, it seems to transport us to the time of the great Aryan reformer, who would thus be proved

¹ Von Bohlen, Genesis, English translation.

as identical with the Adam of the Bible; whilst the biblical record about the sons of Adam would directly refer to the first historical migration of the human race.¹

CHAP.
I.

We now purpose giving a brief summary of the principal tenets, which, according to the most ancient books of the Avesta, have been undoubtedly preached by the great Aryan Reformer. These ancient records may, to a certain extent, fill up the void occasioned by the scanty and fragmentary accounts which the Bible contains with reference to the teachings of Abraham, the friend of God. But beyond this, these extracts will, it is hoped, point to the source of that Aryan and Chaldæan tradition, of which we shall show that it caused the great reform of the Jewish faith about the time of the Babylonian captivity.

God is One and Invisible.—The new name given to God by Zoroaster is Ahura-Mazda, or Ahuro-Mazdão, 'that Ahura who is called Mazdao,' or 'the living Creator of all,' or 'of the universe.' He is the 'holy, living, wise Spirit,'² 'the true God,'³ to whom are opposed 'the liars,' the fallen and evil spirits, or devas, who were worshipped as gods. He is 'the light of light,' or He who has His own light, the source of that light which most resembles Him, and through which He appears to His prophet. He is the source of 'His inborn glory,' through which He 'first created the multitude of celestial bodies;' as also 'through His mind' (or intellect) He created 'the good creatures, governed by the inborn (indwelling) good mind.' He is 'the living good Spirit,' who is 'everlasting,' and who makes the good creatures 'grow.'⁴ He is 'the Father of the good, active (or operating) spirit (sense or mind);' 'the Being who creates all;'⁵ 'the holiest One;'⁶ 'the

God is a
Spirit.

¹ See our concluding remarks on this subject at the end of the next chapter, and the table on the seven thousand years in the last chapter.

² Yas. xliii. 7.

³ Yas. xliii. 4.

⁴ Yas. xxxi. 7.

⁵ Yas. xlv. 4.

⁶ Yas. xlv. 5.

CHAP. Lord of purity ;¹ 'the essence of truth, the Creator of
 I. life, who manifests His life in His works; the primeval Spirit; the Wise, so high in mind as to create the world, and the Father of the good spirit, Vohumano.' He is described as 'the pure Father,'² 'the Father of all truth ;'³ 'the good Father,'⁴ who is from eternity, since His beginning is in 'the boundless time' (Zarvan-akarana), so that He is neither begotten nor created.⁵ 'Through the holiest Spirit and the best mind' He 'has given us fulness and immortality ;'⁶ and to 'the living God'⁷ belongs 'the kingdom, the might, and the power,'⁸ since He has spoken 'words' and performed 'deeds,' before spirits or man existed.⁹

The Supermundane, the Almighty, and through His Spirit Omnipresent Creator of the universe, is invisible ; and when He appears to the eye of the prophet,¹⁰ it is not His own form, but probably an incorporation of His Divine Spirit, that is, either the first-created Sraosha, or one of the Archangels, that is, one of the inhabitants of the spiritual world, which was created before the foundations of the material world were laid.

The first-born.

The first-born among all creatures is the Divine Spirit, Wisdom or Word, the Mediator between the Creature and the Creator, and the organ of sanctification and immortality.—The first-born or firstling of creation is not, strictly speaking, a creation, but an emanation from the Creator, conveying the Divine element to reasonable creatures, by endowing them with a living soul, that is, with 'fulness and immortality.' The 'primordial spirit' proceeds from 'the Father,' and by inhabiting the soul of man, produces, if unopposed, Vohumano, that is, 'the best mind or spirit,' and thus the Son of God. It is the principle of life for the body, and of sanctification and immortality for the soul. The divinely-wrought 'good mind' produces the

¹ Yas. xxxv. 1.

² Yas. xi. 16.

³ Yas. xlvii. 2.

⁴ Visp. ii. 17.

⁵ Vend. xix. 9.

⁶ Vend. xlv. 1.

⁷ Yas. xlv.

⁸ Yas. xxxvii. 3.

⁹ Yas. xxix. 5.

¹⁰ Yas. xxx. 8, xlv. 8.

fruits of the spirit, that is purity in 'thought, word, and deeds,' which is capable to 'withstand the darknesses' of the material world 'which passes away,' and by redeeming the soul from its earthly prison-house, to translate the former to 'the golden thrones' of the living God and of His Angels.

CHAP.
I.

The indwelling Divine Spirit is also called the holy 'Word,' the Word of God, spoken by him in the beginning, which was 'Lord,' or Master, 'before the creation of the day, before the creation of the Archangels,' and which the good Spirit of God 'has continuously spoken.'¹ The Divine Spirit or Word, or 'Wisdom,' is designated as the 'type of the creations' in the world of God. 'If He (the Spirit or Word), "Honovar," teaches in the beings, O thou Creator of All (Mazda), he becomes like unto his beings (becomes incarnate), and brings the kingdom of the living God.'² Therefore, to be led by the Spirit of God is to be in God. If man 'gives himself over to the Good Spirit,' as to his Lord and Master, then spirit and matter harmoniously combine—the embodied spirit and the spiritualised matter have become one; 'through the best operating spirit' the finite creature has become united with the infinite Creator; mortality has put on immortality; the enmity caused by the opposing principles in man has been abolished; the new man is of the Spirit, as the Spirit is of God; the son of man has become a son of God; for the living God is 'friend, brother, or father' of those who worship him.³

The Divine Spirit or Word is more or less opposed by the independent will of reasonable creatures in the spiritual and in the material world. This opposing element in creation has not been created by the Creator of the Universe, but it is a consequence of the liberty of thought, word, and deed with which God has imbued his chosen creatures. All ungodliness springs from this source. The

¹ Yas. xix. 8, 9.

² Yas. xix. See Spiegel's Avesta.

³ Yas. xlv. 11.

CHAP.
I.

mission of the Divine Wisdom, Spirit or Word is to bring back those who, owing to their wilful alienation from God, could not inherit immortality in the worlds above, unless saved by this Divine messenger. The fall and the remedy have therefore coexisted ever since the creation of reasonable creatures. If not redeemed, the soul of man would not be translated after death, and he would not become a citizen of the celestial world of eternal light. As it is the office of light to dispel darkness, so it is the mission of the Divine Spirit, in all ages to conquer the material by the spiritual.

Parable of
the twins.

This contest between the Spirit of the Creator and the spirit of the creature, between good and evil, between the infinite and the finite, in the chosen vessel of God's creation, has been explained by Zoroaster to the Aryans in Bactria by the parable of the twins. 'In the beginning there was a pair of twins, two spirits, each of peculiar activity; these are the good and the base in thought, word and deed. Choose one of these two spirits! Be good, not base. And these two spirits did both create; the one (created) the reality, the other the non-reality. . . . Of these two spirits you must choose one, either the evil, the originator of the worst actions, or the true holy spirit. . . . You cannot belong to both of them. . . . The soul as to time *the first cause among created beings, was with Thee,*' the living Creator of all. 'When he (the evil spirit) comes with one of these evils, then Thou hast the power *through the good spirit* (or mind) of punishing them who break their promises, *O True Spirit.* Thus let us be such as help the life of the future. The wise living spirits are the greatest supporters of it. The prudent man wishes only to be there *where wisdom is at home.* Wisdom is the shelter from lies, the annihilation of the destroyer (the evil spirit); all perfect things are garnered up in the splendid residence of the good spirit (or mind), the wise and the true.'¹

¹ Yasna xxx. 3-10.

Thus the parable of the twin spirits is rendered and explained in what has been called Zoroaster's inaugural address. He was conscious that the inborn glory of God in man was from the beginning capable of being opposed by man's inborn liberty ; and that the first man had made a wrong use of his freedom, by choosing to oppose the Divine Will through his own will, thus himself creating the evil which God had rendered possible, though he willed it not. The twin-spirits, which from the beginning were in man, are the absolute good and the possible evil ; the Divine spirit, created by God, and the human spirit, the creature of his inborn liberty. The former created what is real, that which does not pass away, the infinite in man ; the latter what is non-real, that which is finite and passes away. In other words, the Divine is the soul, the human is the body ; what is born of the one is spiritual and eternal, what is born of the other is of the flesh and temporal. The spiritual, the soul, is the first-born among all creatures ; the Spirit of God is the first-born of the twins from the beginning ; its twin-brother, the spirit of man, is born the second. The true spirit, the good spirit, has power over the evil spirit, the infinite over the finite. The infinite holy spirit, who dwells with man, was in the beginning 'with' God. It is neither begotten nor created, but proceeding from 'the Father ;' it is one with Him, it is God, God in man. This Divine Spirit, Word or Wisdom, is 'at home' in heaven ; it is a Divine sojourner on the earth. The wise man who has given himself over unto the spirit of wisdom 'wishes only to be there where wisdom is at home.' He wishes that his thoughts, words and deeds may be directed by the heavenly guest which has taken its abode in the flesh ; and that after the death of the body he may follow the Divine monitor, the spirit of goodness, wisdom and truth, to the throne of the living God, whence he descended to become incarnate.

In all ages since the creation of man, more or less

CHAP.
I.
Divine In-
carnations.

perfect, but still imperfect incarnations of the Divine Spirit have taken place, as well in the first created 'spiritual' world, as in the later created 'terrestrial' world, both of which are 'the creation of the true (or holy) spirit.'¹ It is through 'his mind' or spirit that God created 'the good creatures, governed by the inborn good mind;' it is through God's 'living and everlasting Spirit' that the 'good-minded beings' are made to 'grow.'² Through the possession of the spiritual power' (maga), and through 'the good mind,' God has 'revealed' to man the divine 'knowledge,' that is, '*the mysteries hidden in my mind,*' as God is reported to have said to Zoroaster.³ Hence, all men 'must aspire after truth;' ⁴ that is, the truth *contained* in the ancient commandments of the living God, and which is discerned by the power to 'distinguish right from wrong.'⁵ 'God gives through the holy (white) Spirit, appearing in the best thought, the truth of speech, and the sincerity of action; to this world, health and immortality, wealth and devotion. From his holiest Spirit all good has sprung in the words, which are pronounced by the tongue of the good mind (Vohumano), and the works wrought by the hands of the angel of the earth (Armaiti). By means of such a knowledge, the Creator himself is the father of all truth. He who created, by means of His wisdom, the good and naughty mind in thinking, words and deeds, rewards His obedient followers with prosperity. Art thou not He in whom is hidden the last cause of both intellects?' ⁶ In like manner in one of the after-Zoroastrian writings, the Homa Yasht, God is reported to have spoken about his 'two spirits,' and to have specified the white spirit as the holy one.⁷ The giver of the holy (or white) spirit, of the absolute good, is also the giver of human liberty, which may oppose the former and thus create the evil (or black) spirit. Those

¹ Yas. hept. xxxv. 1.

² Yas. xxxi. 7; xliv. 4.

³ Yas. l. 6; li. 16, 17.

⁴ Yas. li. 17.

⁵ Yas. xlv. 15.

⁶ Yas. xlvii. 1-4.

⁷ Yas. xix. 9.

who are 'instigated by their base minds, *produce the devils* (devas), *by means of their pernicious thoughts.*'¹ CHAP. I.

'Who is the religious man and who the impious (or wicked) one? With whom of both (or of these two) is the black spirit, and with whom the bright one? Is it not right to consider the impious man who attacks me or thee *to be* a black one?'² Thus it is clearly defined, that human liberty wrongly directed produces the nought or base mind, and that the latter produces the devils or incorporations of the evil spirit.

Those who are led by heavenly wisdom, that is, by the indwelling holy Spirit of God, and who, after the death of the body, are translated to the celestial throne of God and of his first-created angels, have become, like the latter, friends and sons of God. Friends of God.

All angels are created beings, either aboriginal citizens of the spiritual world above, or translated citizens of the material world below. In the most ancient parts of the Avesta no prayers are addressed to any other than to the living God himself, as the source of that divine 'spiritual power,' which ever since the beginning has fulfilled its mission of regenerating, and thus reclaiming the souls of fallen men. This divine mediator, the saving Spirit of God in man, was perhaps already in the time of Zoroaster, conceived as conveyed to man by a celestial Being; an idea which was more fully developed in later times, and which may have led to the conception of a personification of the Divine Spirit. The 'angel' or 'friend of God,' who 'protects' the divine 'creed *in the assembly of the heavenly spirits*,'³ and through whose mediation Zoroaster received the commandments of the invisible God, is called 'Sraosha' or 'Serosh.' The angel 'came' to the prophet, in consequence of the latter's belief in 'the holy living wise Spirit,' and brought to him 'the good mind,' that is, the indwelling Spirit, Wisdom or Word of God, which 'the living Creator of all' bestows to those who believe

¹ Yas. xlix. 4.² Yas. xliv. 12.³ Yas. xliv.

CHAP. in him as the primeval cause of life. The revealing-
 I. angel Sraosha, so-named because the holy tradition came
 by 'hearing,' is called 'the greatest of all, who is praising
 the truth and doing good,' and who is surrounded by
 others, according to 'the order of the Holy Spirit,' that
 is, by 'heavenly singers' or angels.¹

Zoroaster clearly defined the living God as the father
 of the good Spirit, of his 'inborn glory.' But the Holy
 Spirit is also designated in the Avesta as 'the type of
 the creations,' as 'the splendid residence of the good
 Spirit, in which are 'garnered up all perfect things.' This
 conception of a type and of a storehouse of divine trea-
 sures easily led to the later idea of a personified Spirit.
 The names given to the first among the angels, the arch-
 angels, 'Amshaspands' or 'Amesha-Spentas,' led one to
 suppose that originally these represented merely the
 principal attributes and gifts of God. If so, it is not
 improbable that even Serosh, who is at the head of the
 archangels, may have originally represented the *ideal*
 type of created beings, without having been conceived as
 a personality.

Be this as it may, it is quite clear that Serosh and the
 six archangels were at the time when the later Scriptures
 forming the Avesta were written, that is, long before the
 year 400 B.C. regarded as personalities, and that the seven
 planets were probably considered as their celestial resi-
 dences. Thus it is written in 'the Yasna of seven
 Chapters:' 'We worship Ahuramazda, the master of
 purity; we worship the Amesha Spentas, the possessors
 of good, the givers of good.'² And in the still later 'Homa
 Yasht' it is written: 'We worship *the angel* Serosh, the
 sincere, the beautiful, the victorious, who protects our
 territories, the true, the master of truth, who of Ahura-
 mazda's *creatures* first worshipped Ahuramazda, . . .
 who worshipped the archangels, who worshipped the two
 Masters, the two Creators, who create all things. For his

¹ Yas. xliiii. 3-7; xlv. 6-8.

² Yas. xxxv. 1.

splendour and beauty, for his power and victory, *for his praying to the angels in our behalf*, I will worship him with an audible prayer and with the offering of consecrated water. He may come to help us, he the victorious, sincere Serosh.¹

CHAP.
I.

It is important to mark the essential difference between what we may call the original Zoroastrian doctrine, and its later development. Far from any angels being worshipped, no archangels are directly or indirectly referred to in those parts of the Avesta which lay claim to Zoroastrian origin.² To the worship of the One Living Creator of All is opposed the worship of 'two Creators who create all things.' Again, angels are worshipped; and thus raised to the dignity of divinities. Among these Serosh, later Mithra, was symbolised by the sun. The pure Monotheism of the Aryan Reformer has been set aside, and Polotheism established in its stead. It is also to be observed, that in the more ancient parts of the Aryan Bible the observance of no sacrificial rites or ceremonies is insisted upon as essential. The Divine Spirit was regarded long after the death of Zoroaster as the continual revealer of the Word of God, as the inspirer of holy thoughts, words, and deeds. These monotheistic and spiritualistic conceptions were in course of time gradually supplanted by that materialism which leads to polytheism and pantheism. The Divine Spirit was conceived as having no existence apart from free and self-determining individuals; the external source of internal revelation was denied; the infinite was absorbed by the finite, that is, the creature was worshipped instead of the Creator; and no future existence of the soul was believed in. The cardinal doctrine was no more: through death unto life, but through life unto death. It has been pointed out that some of the latest writings in the Avesta contain the name of Gautama (Gaotema) or Buddha. Buddha died in 543 B.C., and as a certain period of time

Panthe-
istic
reaction.

¹ Yas. lvii. 2-3.

² Comp. Yas. lvii. 8.

CHAP.
I.

is likely to have elapsed after his death before his doctrine could spread in Bactria, these Scriptures, among the very latest of those which form part of the Avesta, have probably been written not earlier than between the fourth and the fifth century before Christ. This calculation is confirmed by the fact that, according to cuneiform inscriptions from the time of King Arthaxerxes Mnemon, the worship of Mithra and Annahita was spreading through all the dominions of the Persian empire, which was not the case at the time of Darius Hystaspes, of whose time we possess inscriptions in which these deities are not mentioned.¹

Immortality.

We have already pointed out in general terms that, according to the most ancient or Zoroastrian part of the Avesta, the Divine Spirit, Wisdom or Word of God, is the conveyancer of immortality to man. 'Through the Holy Spirit,' which appears 'in the best thought, the truth of speech, and the sincerity of action,' God gives 'immortality' to this world.² 'Health and immortality,' or 'fulness and immortality,' are called the 'two everlasting powers,'³ which the prophet hopes to obtain 'in the same way' as God has 'granted' them to others,⁴ that is by the 'gift' of God.⁵ 'The sincere man's mind is aspiring to the everlasting immortality.'⁶ To such who increase to the utmost the life on earth 'by means of truth,' to such one the first (earthly) and the other (spiritual) life will be granted as a reward, together with all goods to be had on the imperishable earth. 'Thou living Wise One art the very owner of all these things to the greatest extent, thou who art my friend.'⁷ 'The recompense of the faithful is, to come to the dwelling-place of the living Creator of all,'⁸ to the 'worlds' where He 'thrones';⁹ at the expiration

¹ Haug's Essays, p. 224.

² Yas. xlvii. 1-4; comp. Spiegel's Vend. xlv. 1.

³ Yas. xliii. 1.

⁴ Yas. xlv. 18.

⁵ Yas. xlv. 19.

⁶ Yas. xlv. 7.

⁷ Yas. xlv. 19.

⁸ Yas. i. 15. The following quotations are taken from Spiegel's Avesta.

⁹ Yas. lix. 1.

of 'the long time,' when 'the perfectly good resurrection' (or the resurrection of the perfectly good?) will take place.¹ 'At the final dissolution of life, then I, who am the living Creator of all, bring away thy soul from the worst place,'² that is, 'from the dwelling of darkness.'³ The soul is then described as crossing the bridge 'Chinvat,' or 'the bridge of the gatherer,' and as reaching 'paradise' in purity. It is endowed with a 'shining body for paradise,'⁴ which it enters after the expiration of the third night.⁵

CHAP.
I

Having pointed out that in the most ancient parts of the Avesta the Holy Spirit, Wisdom or Word is conceived as the first-born among all creatures, as the mediator between God and man, and as the organ of sanctification and immortality, we have now briefly to refer to the doctrines contained in the Avesta about Angels and Spirits.

Angels and Spirits.—We have seen that 'the living Creator of all' is conceived also as the Creator of even the first among the angels. They are created beings in the spiritual world; they form 'the assembly of the heavenly spirits,' and guardians of the beings in the terrestrial world; among whom the first in dignity is called the 'friend' of God, who revealed to Zoroaster the divine commandments. He may therefore be regarded as the especial representative of the living and invisible God. Of the six archangels who were conceived as forming the celestial council we need not take any notice, since there is no trace of such an idea in the probably Zoroastrian parts of the Avesta. It is not improbable that 'the stars without beginning,' the then known planets, suggested the idea of their being the dwelling-places of the first among the angels who are called 'the immortal saints.' These were in after-Zoroastrian times regarded as 'the guardian angels of the good,' as 'the rulers with their watchful eyes, the highly powerful, swift, the living ones, of everlasting truth,' who

¹ Yas. xli. 8.

² Yas. lxx. 65 f.

³ Yas. xxxi. 20.

⁴ Yas. lix. 18; xli. 10.

⁵ Farg. xix. 28; and Vist. Yasht.

CHAP.
I.

'all seven are of the same mind, speak the same words, perform the same actions ;' the one looking 'into the soul of the other, considering about good thoughts . . words . . and deeds, considering about the best life, that the prayer may go up to their brightly shining paths.'¹ The guardian angel of Zoroaster was especially worshipped, inasmuch as the latter was the first in and by whom were manifested good thoughts, words, and deeds, and who promulgated 'the religion of the living God, given against the devils,' that is against the devas or spirits which were worshipped in the stead of the living Creator of all. The guardian angel of Zoroaster must have been in later times conceived as the most perfect personification of the Divine Spirit proceeding from the Creator, since he was worshipped even by 'the archangels with the sun,' the angel of which, Mithra, was deified as 'the king-sun.' Among other guardian angels, that of King Vistaspa, who first embraced the true religion, and that of Soshyans, Sosiosh, 'the hero who is to rise out of the number of prophets,' and to whom 'the mighty brightness' is attached, which God created in the beginning, and which is essential for immortality. At the time of his appearing on the earth, 'the dead will rise again,' and 'the world remain for eternity in a state of purity,' and 'the devil will disappear.'² This same prophet of the latter days will hold the last judgment. He was believed to be a son of Zoroaster, begotten in a supernatural way, according to the 'Bundehesh,' the bulk of which was certainly written several centuries before the beginning of the Christian era, and probably before the time of Cyrus.

All good angels or spirits live in the heavenly place where God thrones, in the 'garôr demâna' or 'house of hymns,' the dwelling-place of 'the assembly of the heavenly spirits,' of 'the heavenly singers.' It is the place of the best (or spiritual) life, and therefore also called 'ahu-vahista.' All those enter the same who

¹ Tr. Yasht 82-84.

² Zem. Yasht 89-98.

made a good use of their liberty, by choosing the good instead of the evil ; that is, by not choosing to oppose the operation of the indwelling Divine Spirit. Those who continue to disobey the heavenly voice within them, who are 'instigated by their base minds, *produce* the devils' or evil spirits. Evil deeds transform a man 'even before his death,' into an evil spirit, into a worshipper and companion of evil spirits, and he becomes 'after death a deva or evil spirit.'¹ Obedience and disobedience are therefore the moving causes in the universe. The spirit of obedience is more or less identical with the Divine Spirit, which inspires good thoughts, words and deeds ; it is therefore called the white or Holy Spirit, '*spentô mainyus* ;' whilst the spirit of disobedience is called the dark spirit, '*angrô mainyus*.' This evil principle originated in man's self-will, and it will disappear as soon as the will of reasonable creatures shall have been conformed to the will of the Creator, which is manifested to every individual by the Holy Spirit, whose office it is in course of time to sanctify, and thus to raise to eternal life all the children of disobedience.

The Universality of God's Saving Love.—Whilst not a word is contained in the Avesta which regards the sinner as irredeemably lost, it is expressly stated, that through His Holy Spirit God is the Saviour of 'every one of His creatures.'² Hell is called the house of destruction, or '*drûjô demâna* ;'³ but we may assume, that originally this was considered as a place of punishment for those who would not be saved in any other way. If therefore 'the children of the dark spirit' are to 'disappear' from the earth, it is that another place will be assigned to them, where hope is still held out, though its realisation be attended with increasing difficulties.

Not only was the Spirit of God in man regarded as constituting His divine nature ; not only was the soul considered as of heavenly origin, but it was conceived as

¹ Vend. viii. 803-105.² Comp. Yas. xlii. 1.³ Yas. xli. 11.

CHAP. I. having individually existed in heaven, before becoming incarnate, by entering into the body of man. Addressing the souls who are to leave their heavenly abode, and to enter into the house of clay, their Creator is in the Avesta reported to have thus addressed them : ‘What advantage do you not derive from that I shall let you be in this world, in the bodies. Fight, let disappear the children of the dark spirit; at the end I will again translate you to your former state, and you will be blessed in happiness. At the end I will again place you in the world; you will be immortal, eternally young, without evil.’¹

Righteousness by the Grace of God.—We have seen that if man ‘gives himself over to the good Spirit,’ as to his ‘Lord and Master,’ that is, to the Divine Spirit, Wisdom or Word which was in the beginning with God, and which God causes to dwell in man, that then fulness (or health) and immortality are his. The Divine Messenger inspires holy thoughts, words and deeds, that is righteousness, which therefore is the fruit of the Spirit’s operation, of the grace of God. ‘Who are opposed in their thoughts, words and actions to the wicked, and think of the welfare of creation, their efforts will be crowned by success through the grace (or mercy) of the living Creator of all,’² ‘Immortality, truth, wealth, health—all these gifts, to be granted in consequence of (pious) actions, words and devotion—are plentiful in Thy possession, living Creator of all.’³ ‘The best mind or spirit’ (Vohumano) is that human faculty which owes its origin to the operation of the Divine indwelling Spirit. Thus nature is not merely the arena of opposing principles, but it forms part of a living organism, the lower sphere of spiritual development. It is not the world which is opposed to God, but the disobedient spirit of the creature is, by the perversity of man, opposed for a time to the spirit of the Creator. It is the liberty of the creature

¹ Comp. Frank’s ‘Cabbala,’ translated into German by Jellinek.

² Yas. xxxiii. 2.

³ Yas. xxxiv. 1.

which may be opposed to the liberty of the Creator, without affecting the same. By the grace of God, the free will of the creature is to be conformed to the will of the Omnipotent Creator. Thus righteousness is by the grace of God.

CHAP.
I.

Atonement through Righteousness.—The enmity between the Spirit of God and the spirit of man is caused by man's fatal determination to oppose the indwelling Saviour. If at any time man gives himself over to the rule of the Holy Spirit, all enmity is at an end. For ever since the beginning, the Spirit of God strives to conquer all what is at enmity with him, that is, to destroy the fruit of disobedience, evil thoughts, words and deeds. The perfect law of God, the law of that Divine Spirit, through which the mysteries of God's mind are revealed to man, 'takes away all bad thoughts, words and deeds of a pure man, as the powerful and fast wind clears the heaven from the right side.' The good law of God 'entirely cuts off all punishment.'¹ Obedience to 'the spiritual power,' which enables man to 'distinguish right from wrong,' is therefore a well-pleasing sacrifice to God, which in all ages has produced righteousness; for where obedience abounds, there also abounds Divine grace. No atoning sacrifices were known to the reformed or monotheistic Aryans. A doctrine of atonement by blood could never have been harmonised with the spiritual principles revealed to Zoroaster.

Injunction to Pray.—Purity in thoughts, words, and deeds being only attainable through obedience to the Divine Spirit in man, which is a gift of God, the creature must commune with the Creator; he must pray to 'the Father' in heaven. This doctrine is to be found in the most ancient parts of the Avesta. Zoroaster, the celebrated one of Airyana-Vaëjo, is praised for having been the first to recite the prayer called Ahuna-Vairja, which prayer is called 'the spreading one,' inasmuch as it was recited by the

¹ Vend. iii. 149-151.

CHAP.
I.

increasingly numerous adherents of the Aryan reformer; and it is called the prayer of 'four times,' because it had to be recited as often;¹ 'the two perfect ones (laws) which God has given to man' are to be taught² and recited.³ According to tradition, the above term, 'the two perfect ones,' refers to the Holy Scriptures and to the verbal tradition, to the written and to the oral law, that is, to the 'Avesta' and the 'Zend.'⁴ Again, Zoroaster announced to those who listened to him that he would tell them 'what the Most Holy' had told him, that is, 'a prayer to be recited, the best for all men.'⁵ In the Vendidad prayers are recorded which are to be recited for the purpose of driving away evil spirits⁶; and prayers from the Yasna are quoted which have proved efficacious for specified objects, or under special circumstances.⁷ Here also the following beautiful passage from the Vendidad may be mentioned: 'He who does not accede to the request of an imploring man is a thief of the request, inasmuch as he takes away the prayer by force.'⁸ In the later writings of the Avesta, the angel Serosh is implored to pray 'on behalf' of man.

Conclu-
sion.

These were, according to the Avesta, the leading principles of the doctrine promulgated by the great reformer of the Aryan faith, who was, as we try to establish, the forerunner of Abraham. It is true that, even in his own time, this essentially monotheistic religion of the living God was necessarily mixed up with those remnants of nature-worship, which he could not entirely eradicate. It must also be admitted that at the time of the Jewish captivity in Babylon, the Zoroastrian principles were certainly modified to a certain extent. The fact that by some of the later writings in the Avesta, Gautama or Buddha, that is, 'the Enlightened One,' who died seven years before the return under Ezra, was recognised as a

¹ Yasna ix. 44, Spiegel.² Yas. xxx. 11.³ Yas. xxxi. 1.⁴ See Spiegel's Avesta 2, p. 120, note 6.⁵ Vas. xlv. 5.⁶ Vend. 10.⁷ Yend. 11 &c.⁸ Vend. iv. 1, 2.

prophet who had intercourse with God, conclusively proves that in course of time the spiritual principles of the Aryan reformer were opposed by those purely materialistic doctrines which deny the external source of internal revelation. Yet a new impetus seems to have been given to the original principles of Aryan reform at the time which immediately preceded the return of the Israelites from Babylon to the Holy Land. For we may assert that the Persian king, Cyrus, or Koresh, the 'Kurush' mentioned in cuneiform inscriptions, adhered to the monotheism originally proclaimed by Zoroaster. Thus only can it be explained that the great unknown Hebrew prophet of the captivity, whose writings are appended to those of Isaiah, calls Cyrus 'the Anointed' or Christ of the Lord;¹ the 'shepherd,' who carries out the Divine decrees;² the eagle called from the East; the man appointed by the Lord's counsel,³ who is strengthened by the Lord to subdue the 'nations,' or Gentiles.⁴ The Hebrew prophet evidently regarded him not only as a chosen vessel in the hand of God, but as an especial organ of the Divine Spirit from above, as one of the more perfect Divine incarnations of the Spirit, Wisdom or Word of God, which was in the beginning with God.

This doctrine about the Divine Sonship through the operation of the indwelling Divine Spirit, has most probably been revealed to Abraham, as it certainly was revealed to Zoroaster. And it is a very remarkable fact, that the books of the Avesta, or at least those parts of the same which are attributed to the great reformer and forerunner of Abraham, are by Clement of Alexandria designated as '*apocryphal books*,' and for this reason, because they were the exponents of '*a hidden doctrine*.'⁵ In the outset, therefore, the possibility must be admitted that the Aryan apocrypha are the primary source of the Jewish apocrypha. Be this as it may, it follows, even

CHAP.
I.

¹ Is. xlv. 1.

² xlv. 28.

³ xlv. 11.

⁴ xlv. 1.

⁵ Strom. iv. 15, p. 357.

CHAP.
I.

from those writings of the Israelites which form part of the Hebrew or Palestinian canon, that during and after the Babylonian captivity the all-important doctrine of the Divine Sonship had begun to form an essential part of the national Hebrew faith. Moreover, in the apocryphal writings of the pre-Christian era, which formed part of the Alexandrian canon, and which we are now about to consider, the doctrine about the Divine Spirit, Wisdom or Word of God, as the first-born among all creatures, as the mediator between God and man, as the organ of sanctification and immortality, is developed in general accordance with the principles of the Avesta. These circumstances lead us to enquire whether the national religion of the chosen people did not undergo an important reform during the Babylonian captivity.

We conclude this introductory chapter by a quotation. 'The Holy Ghost that touched the soul of Hebrew prophets and teachers, also brooded over the spiritual chaos of the old Pagan world, so that gleams of divine light flashed many times across the deep of ignorance and moral evil. It enhances the value of ancient Holy Scripture, it even adds a new significance to it, when we come to know that, far away from its sphere, the erring soul of man was always struggling towards the source of light, and that from the uncreated sun there fell upon it many a sanctifying and guiding ray.'¹

¹ Young, 'The Christ of History,' 1861, p. 169.

CHAPTER II.

THE JEWISH REFORMATION.

PARTIES IN THE JEWISH CHURCH—ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE
SECRET, HIDDEN OR APOCRYPHAL TRADITION.

'The covenant, that was confirmed before of God in Christ, the law, which was four hundred and thirty years after, cannot disannul, that it should make the promise of none effect.'—Gal. iii. 17.

THE history of Judaism during the Babylonian captivity, and during the time which immediately preceded the advent of Christ, is as yet more or less enveloped in darkness; but we know that at the beginning of the Christian era there existed in the Jewish Church, notwithstanding its formal unity, two antagonistic camps, formed by the two preeminently influential sects of the Sadducees and of the Pharisees. Starting from this fact, we shall attempt to explain the origin of these sects, in the hope of being thereby enabled to throw some light on this important period of Jewish history.

We cannot trace the sects of the Sadducees and Pharisees in the times preceding the Babylonian captivity. Josephus, the Jewish historian, is the first writer who refers to them; and he speaks of their having been in existence about a century and a half before the Christian era, in the days of Jonathan the Maccabee;¹ and that at

CHAP.
II.

Sadducees
and
Pharisees.

¹ 143 B. C.

CHAP.
II.

this time the Pharisees, opposed by the Sadducees, already formed a mighty party.¹ Nothing is known about the time of their origin. We cannot accept the suggestion that 'it was in the resolute determination to resist the adoption of Grecian customs, and the slightest departure from the requirements of their own law, that the Pharisees, or "separated," took their rise as a party,' in the latter years of Antiochus Epiphanes, or towards the year 170 B.C.²

It is more in harmony with what we know about the Pharisees to assume that, at some time or other, they separated from the Sadducees on dogmatical grounds. The Sadducees formed a sect, which although it was separated from that of the Pharisees, yet in some respects was connected with the same.³ They were members of the council,⁴ and occasionally even high priests; although Josephus informs us that when they accepted office, which they did unwillingly, and when compelled to do so, they subjected themselves to the opinions of the Pharisees, as otherwise they would not have been suffered by the people.⁵ Thus it is rendered probable that the Hebrew canon, as compiled and composed by Ezra, must have been acknowledged, if not originally, at least in course of time, by the Sadducees as much as by the Pharisees; although the former regarded the prophetic writings as of less authority than the books of the law, and yet as inspired.⁶ It may be assumed, however, that the mode of interpreting the letter of holy writ was different, and that the verbal interpretation of the recognised text harmonised the same with the tenets of each sect. For it is certain that the Pharisees admitted allegory, which the Sadducees rigidly excluded.

The Sadducees taught that the free actions of men depend from their will only, and that God exerts no

¹ Ant. xiii. 5-10.

² See Mr. Twissleton's Article in Smith's Dictionary of the Bible.

³ Comp. Mat. iii. 7; xvi. 1, 6, 12; Acts xxiii. 6, 7, 8. ⁴ Acts xxiii. 6.

⁵ Ant. xviii. 1-4.

⁶ Jos. Ap. i. 8.

influence on the latter ; so that every individual is the sole originator of his destiny. They held that the soul of man dies with the body, and that consequently there is no resurrection, no recompense or punishment after death. They also denied the existence of ‘angels or spirits.’¹ Josephus writes: ‘The Sadducees take away fate (or providence), and say there is no such thing, and that the events of human affairs are not at its disposal ; but they suppose that all our actions are in our own power, so that we are ourselves the causes of what is good, and receive what is evil from our own folly.’² ‘They suppose that God is not concerned in our doing or not doing what is evil ; and they say, that to act what is good or what is evil is at men’s own choice, and that the one or the other belongs in such manner to everyone, that they may act as they please. They also take away the belief of the immortal duration of the soul, and the punishments and rewards in hades.’³ ‘The doctrine of the Sadducees is this, that souls die with the bodies.’⁴

But the Pharisees believed that the free actions and destinies of men are the united result of human liberty and Divine intervention.⁵ God Himself has fixed every man’s destiny, and man can no more evade the same than he can interrupt the Divine plan of the world. Yet within the limits of this predestined fate, man moves and acts in the consciousness of his liberty, and his virtue is his merit. They believed in the existence of higher spirits ;⁶ in the immortality of the human soul, and in the doctrine of future reward. Josephus writes, that when the Pharisees ‘determine that all things are done by fate (or providence), they do not take away the freedom from men of acting as they think fit, since their notion is that it hath pleased God to make a temperament whereby what He wills is done, but so that the wills of men can act virtuously or viciously. They also believe

¹ Acts xxiii. 8.² Ant. xviii. 1.³ De Bel. ii. 8.⁴ Ant. xviii. 1.⁵ Jos. Ant. xviii. 1-3 ; xiii. 5-9.⁶ Comp. Acts xxiii. 8.

CHAP.
II.

that souls have an immortal vigour in them, and that under the earth there will be rewards or punishments, according as they have lived virtuously or viciously in this life; and the latter are to be detained in an everlasting prison, but that the former shall have power to revive and live again.’¹

The derivation of the name of the Pharisees, from *Perîshîn*, the Aramaic form of the Hebrew word *Perûshîm*, ‘separated,’ seems to denote that they were the dissenters in the Jewish Church during the Babylonian captivity. For but few of them led a retired life, whilst as the most numerous and influential sect they came into so close a contact with the people, that it is not possible to explain this name as the designation of their separation from the rest of the community. On the other hand, the fact that the Sadducees excluded all doctrines which were not actually inculcated by the writings attributed to Moses, goes far to sanction the supposition that they represented the conservative party among the Israelites. Josephus informs us² that the Sadducees rejected all those precepts which were not contained in the laws of Moses, and which were only derived from tradition. He writes, ‘The Pharisees have delivered to the people a great many observances *by succession from their fathers*, which are *not written in the laws of Moses*. And for that reason it is that the Sadducees reject them, and say that we are to esteem those observances to be obligatory which are in *the written Word*, but are not to observe what are derived from the *traditions* of our forefathers.’³ They do not ‘regard the observation of anything besides what the law enjoins them; for they think it an instance of virtue to *dispute* with those *teachers of philosophy* whom they frequent.’⁴ From this it clearly follows that the Pharisees believed in the principles of a *verbal tradition* transmitted to them ‘*by succession* of their forefathers,’ and that the

¹ Ant. xviii. 1.² Ant. xiii. 10.³ Ant. xiii. 10.⁴ Ant. xviii. 1.

Sadducees regarded the teachers of this verbal tradition as 'teachers of philosophy.'

CHAP.
II.

By the side of the Pharisees and Sadducees ¹ Josephus mentions only one other party or sect in the Jewish Church, that of the Essenes. All we know about this mysterious sect tends to show that they were the true guardians of secret tradition. Whilst the Sadducees, and among them particularly 'the teachers of the law,' rejected this tradition altogether, and the Pharisees, especially the scribes, or rather 'the learned in Scripture,' admitted only so much of these apocryphal principles as they considered compatible with their selfish and absolute rule, the Essenes formed a chosen band or brotherhood, the recognised members of which strove to realise the grand object of their society, to carry out in their life and conversation the principles which they professed. The mysterious fact that they are not mentioned at all in Scripture is best explained by the assumption, that in the first century of our era they were more or less identified with the Christians. They called themselves Essenes, or 'healers,' a name which well characterises the spiritual nature of their mission, and which may even directly refer to the Divine Word that 'healeth all things.'¹ Theirs was the religion of the heart, and therefore essentially a spiritual religion. It was mainly directed against the materialistic tendencies of the age. To be in a spiritual frame of mind, in a mould well suited to the influences of God's Holy Spirit from above; and to regulate one's thoughts, words and deeds in accordance with this Divine visitor, these were the leading principles of their faith and practice.² To be zealous in works of charity, and thus to manifest their love to God and to their fellow-creatures; not to despise poverty, but even to seek it by the free distribution of their property; to abstain from bloody sacrifices; not to

Essenes.

¹ Wis. xvi. 12, 7.

² Comp. 1 Pet. ii. 5; Heb. iii. 6; 1 Tim. iii. 15; 1 Cor. iii. 9 f.; 2 Cor. vi. 10; Eph. ii. 19 f.

CHAP.
II.

swear ; not to keep slaves ;¹ to teach by parables ; to exemplify the doctrine of universal priesthood ; these are Essenian principles, which were destined to receive the highest degree of Divine sanction in and through the author of the Christian religion.

The Essenes lived principally in the region of the Dead Sea, where the absence of a rigidly enforced pharisaical church government favoured the gradual development of a more spiritual religion. Some members, probably a separate branch of the order, objected to matrimony. In the time of Josephus they numbered 4,000, and formed a religious society, the members of which belonged to one of three orders, the third of which was alone admitted to their religious meals and meetings. The property of every individual belonged to the society, which was highly respected because of the simplicity, soberness, and useful as well as harmless, activity of its members. This restriction probably referred only to the more rigid and secluded section among them. The Essenes were of opinion that the sacred records of the law cannot be understood without Divine inspiration. By means of an allegorical interpretation they therefore strove to harmonise the written law with their mystic or secret tradition, the general principles of which were known to all members. These were bound to secrecy only with regard to the traditional doctrine of angels, whilst the promulgation of all other doctrines, originally transmitted through the agency of secret tradition, was permitted and enjoined. Like the Therapeuts they probably had books of their own. They studied and inculcated a hidden wisdom. The gift of prophecy was highly esteemed among them, and Josephus states that the predictions of some men among them rarely failed to be verified. He writes, that Herod held the Essenes in special honour, 'and thought higher of them than their mortal nature required.' He adds the following anecdote. 'There was one of these

¹ Jos, Ant. xviii. 1-5. ; Philo ix. Op. 1. 457.

Essenes, whose name was Manahem, who had this testimony, that he not only conducted his life after an excellent manner, but had the foreknowledge of future events given him by God also. This man once saw Herod when he was a child and going to school, and saluted him as King of the Jews. But he, thinking that either he did not know him, or that he was in jest, put him in mind that he was but a private man. But Manahem smiled to himself, and clapped him on his back with his hand, and said: "However that be, thou wilt be king, and wilt begin thy reign happily, for God finds thee worthy of it. And do thou remember the blows that Manahem hath given thee, as being a signal of the change of thy fortune. And truly this will be the best reasoning for thee, that thou love justice (towards men), and piety towards God, and clemency towards thy citizens. Yet do I know how thy whole conduct will be, that thou wilt not be such an one; for thou wilt excel all men in happiness, and obtain an everlasting reputation, but wilt forget piety and righteousness; and these crimes will not be concealed from God at the conclusion of thy life, when thou wilt find that He will be mindful of them, and punish thee for them." Now, at that time Herod did not at all attend to what Manahem said, as having no hope of such advancement. But a little afterward, when he was so fortunate as to be advanced to the dignity of king, and was in the height of his dominion, he sent for Manahem, and asked him how long he should reign. Manahem did not tell him the full length of his reign; wherefore upon that silence of his, he asked him further, whether he should reign ten years or not. He replied, "Yes, twenty, nay thirty years," but did not assign the just determinate limit of his reign. Herod was satisfied with these replies, and gave Manahem his hand, and dismissed him; and from that time he continued to honour all Essenes.¹

The Essenes are reported by Josephus² to have zealously

¹ Ant. xv. 10.

² De Bel. ii. 8, 6.

CHAP.
II.

studied the books of the ancients, and particularly those which were directed to the wellbeing of the soul and of the body. It is not improbable, in the outset, that herein the apocryphal books of Alexandria may have been included; for Josephus likewise informs us,¹ that God had enabled Solomon to find out an art to drive out the evil spirits by means of the recital of certain formulas; and he adds that this method of curing the soul and the body by the driving out of devils continued to be practised with great effect in his days. There existed, therefore, certain writings, supposed to be of Solomonian origin, the doctrine of which was believed to be essential to the healing of those possessed with the devil. That this was the apocryphal doctrine we shall render highly probable. Here it suffices to point out that among the Alexandrian apocrypha one is entitled 'the Wisdom of Solomon,' and that the doctrine therein contained about Spirits well corresponds with the above statement of Josephus.²

We are led to assume that the doctrine of angels, which, as we shall show, had been more fully developed by the Jews during the captivity, formed a distinguishing characteristic of Essenic doctrine. For if their traditional doctrine about angels, which they were bound not to promulgate, had been publicly recognised by the Pharisees, it would be difficult to conjecture what object the Essenes could have had in enforcing secrecy. It is not improbable that the apocryphal doctrine about the Divine Word, to which we shall presently refer, and which is so intimately connected with the doctrine about angels and spirits, was the cause of the above-mentioned Essenic prohibition. For on the one side this doctrine was not recognised by the Jewish Church in Palestine, and on the other it contained elements which might become dangerous to the people at large. The Divine sanction which by its development and application was given to this latter doctrine by Christ, throws much light on the relations

¹ Ant. viii. 2-5.

² Wisd. i. 5-7; v. 3; ix. 17; xii. 1; &c.

between the Essenic doctrine and the Alexandrian apocrypha on the one side, and the Christian religion on the other.

Another marked peculiarity of the doctrine of the Essenes was the doctrine about the pre-existence of the souls. The souls pre-exist in the purest ether, which is their celestial home. By a natural affection they are drawn towards the earth, and they are enclosed in the human bodies as in a prison. The death of the body causes the return of the soul to its heavenly abode. The Essenes can therefore not have believed in the resurrection of the body, but of the soul only; or, as Paul says, of the 'spiritual body.' This is positively asserted by Josephus. 'Their doctrine is, that bodies are corruptible, and that the matter they are made of is not permanent; but that the souls are immortal, and continue for ever.' Eternal happiness is the lot of good souls, and 'never ceasing punishments' of bad souls.¹ We find the same doctrine about the pre-existence and immortality of the soul in the apocrypha of the Septuagint, and in later apocryphal writings, all of which point, as we shall show, to a tradition of probably Babylonian origin. These supposed relations between the spiritual and the natural led the Essenes to regard the flesh as a necessary evil, and consequently rather to discourage matrimony. But what is infinitely more important, these views about what is temporal and what is eternal in man seem to have been one of the causes which led the Essenes to detest bloody sacrifices, and therefore to abstain from them altogether.² This also is an apocryphal doctrine, the origin and importance of which we shall presently point out.

Such were the principal doctrines of the Essenes. They can hardly be regarded as having at any time formed a part of the Jewish Church, so opposed was their doctrine, and still more the practice of their religion, to the life and doctrine of the Pharisees. They

¹ De Bell. ii. 11.

² Philo. Mang. ii. 457.

CHAP.
II.

do not appear ever to have joined in the temple service ; and although they sent sacrifices to the temple, which they were most probably obliged to do by the Jewish Church authorities, yet Josephus expressly states,¹ that they themselves did not offer up any sacrifices in the temple, inasmuch as they considered more holy their own rites. The following passage from Josephus throws much light on their public life :—‘They have no one certain city, but many of them dwell in every city ; and if any of them come from other places, what they have lies open for them, just as if it were their own ; and they go into such as they never knew before as if they had been ever so long acquainted with them ; for which reason they carry nothing at all with them when they travel into remote parts, though still they take their weapons with them for fear of thieves. Accordingly, there is in every city where they live, one appointed particularly to take care of strangers, and to provide garments and other necessities for them. . . . They do not allow of the change of garments or of shoes till they be first entirely torn to pieces, or worn out by time. Nor do they either buy or sell anything to one another, but every one of them gives what he hath to him that wanteth it, and receives of him again in its stead what may be convenient for himself ; and although there be no requital made, they are fully allowed to take what they want of whomsoever they please.’²

Thera-
peuta.

A sect similar to the Essenes in Palestine, were the Therapeuts in Egypt. It is generally supposed that the former were a branch of the latter society ; but if we succeed in showing that the leading principles of both were developed from an early tradition, the connexion between these sects, and likewise the difference in their habits, will be better explained. Our knowledge about

¹ Ant. xviii.

² De Bel. ii. 4 ; comp. Luke x. 4 ; iii. 11 ; Mat. x. 10 ; Mark vi. 9 ; Acts ii. 44 f. ; iv. 32.

the doctrinal principles and the rites of both these sects, particularly about those of the Essenes, is very incomplete; but it is probable that it was the main object of the Essenes to carry out their spiritualising doctrines in the performance of the daily duties of an active life; whilst contemplation and monastic seclusion constituted the principal characteristics of the Therapeut. About these Philo writes¹ substantially as follows: ²—

CHAP.
II.

‘ Having given over their property to others, they left parents, brothers and sisters, wife and child, and retired from the turmoil of public life into solitary places, principally to a gently rising ground of healthy and secure situation above the Lake Maria. Each dwelling-house had a sanctuary, which they called “semneion,” or “monasterion,” where in solitude they gave themselves up to the mysteries of a life of dedication, and occupied themselves with laws, prophetic oracles, hymns, and other practices, which furthered knowledge and piety. Their morning prayer, which they offered up at the time of the sun rising, expressed the desire that their souls might be filled with heavenly light; whilst with the setting sun, they prayed that their soul “freed from the burthens of our senses and of the outward world, and entering into the depths of her innermost sanctuary, might behold the truth.” Occupied with the Holy Scriptures, they search wisdom, whilst applying a deeper sense to the holy records; for they believe that the words are symbols of a more deeply seated truth, which is only suggested, and not expressed. They also possess scriptures of wise men of old, of the founders of their sect, who have left behind many allegorical memorials. Led by these, they search after *the hidden wisdom*.’ Philo writes: ‘They regarded the law as an organic being, inasmuch as they compared the words with the body, and the deeper sense

¹ Mang. ii. 474 f.

² The following epitome is taken from Hilger’s ‘Geschichte der Häresien;’ comp. Gfrörer’s ‘Urchristenthum,’ ii. 280 f. &c.

CHAP.
II.

which lay hidden under the words with the soul ; in this (deeper sense) they conceived the reasonable soul to behold high and hidden thoughts, whilst looking through the words as through a mirror.’¹

On the days of the week they led an active and extremely simple and abstemious life. Before the setting of the sun they partook of neither food nor drink, but they postponed till the night the satisfaction of their corporeal wants, because they considered this gratification as a work of darkness, regarding only the occupation with wisdom as a performance worthy of the light. Every Sabbath they attended, festively attired, the Synagogue, when one among them read in the holy books. The interpretation is given by ‘one of the most experienced,’ and he ‘passes over what is not (generally) known ; for the principal parts are with them taught ‘through symbols, with time-honoured zeal.’² The social meals they solemnised on every seventh Sabbath, as on the evening preceding the jubilee or high feast of the fifty, the Pentecost ; because the number seven was by them held to be peculiarly holy. Women also took part in the festivity, principally elderly and spiritually-minded virgins, striving after the new birth, that is, to be born by *the union between a god-loving soul and wisdom*. Or in the very words of Philo : ‘They have chosen wisdom as their companion, . . . and long not for mortal but immortal progeny, to which only a god-loving soul can give birth, when the Father of the world pours out upon them his spiritual rays, and with them the knowledge of higher wisdom.’ Some of the Therapeuts ‘have so entirely given themselves over to the depths of wisdom, which richly nurtures their souls,’ that they abstain from food for more than three days, and do not break the fast before the sixth day. The seventh day they regarded as the holiest feast, which they highly celebrated. ‘Next to the soul, they allow also to the body a better care.’ Their fundamental doctrine was,

¹ Mang. ii. 474 f.² Philo ix. Op. l. 12, 458.

that 'from the lie issue forth the manifold kinds of evil, but from the truth the riches of heavenly and of earthly treasure.'¹ Therefore, Philo writes of the true Therapeuts, that 'they have devoted their whole life to wisdom and to the searching (thereof), according to the holy rules of the Prophet Moses.'²

Having prayed to God that their meal may be well pleasing, they laid themselves round the table. In the beginning the most solemn silence prevailed, till at last one from among the meeting raised a question on any passage of Holy Scripture, and at once tried to answer the same, whilst all the rest listened with the greatest attention, manifesting with outward signs their approval, and also their doubts; at the close of this address, all clapped their hands as a proof of their satisfaction. Then all, one after another in due order, sang a hymn, and only hereupon was carried in, by the principal young men of the society, the table covered with the holy food, consisting of bread, salt, and hyssop; the drink was water.³ After the meal followed the holy solemnity of the night; it consisted in a continuous singing of hymns, alternately performed by the choir of the men and of the women, and ending in a joint chorus of men and women, probably after the type of that melodious shout, which was performed at the Red Sea, by Moses and the prophetess Miriam, in order to thank God the Deliverer. At the break of morning dawn, they stood turned to the east, and on the rising of the sun they raised their hands towards heaven, and prayed for the bright shining of the inner sun, and of truth, and for sharpness of the spiritual eye; after this prayer, they retired again to their solitude and to their usual occupation.

There can be no doubt, but that the Pentecostal feast

¹ Mang. ii. 474 f.

² Mang. ii. 481.

³ Recognising no other altar than the heart of man, and believing that through Divine enlightenment every man is capable of being his own priest, and to offer up his will unto the Father, these spiritual sects spiritualised the paschal rite which the written law prescribed.

CHAP.
II.

of the Therapeuts corresponded with the paschal feast of the Israelites.¹ Not only the letter, but also the rites of the law, were regarded as the hieroglyphics of hidden mysteries. The true meaning of the paschal rite had therefore to be found out, by a spiritual interpretation of the same. It seems to have been this. Egypt, the house of bondage, was but a type of the body, the house of sin; the deliverance from the bondage of Egypt was therefore but a type of the deliverance from the bondage of sin and death. The terrestrial Shilo is but a symbol of the heavenly Shilo, the eternal haven of the soul, the rest which remaineth for the people of God. And as the Israelites were led by the outstretched arm of Jehovah through the Red Sea in the face of their persecutors, so the soul of man is led through the changes and chances of this life to the paradise of God in heaven, by the Divine Spirit or Word, of which the cloudy and the fiery pillar, and the Shechina, were the type, and of which the soul is the predestinated dwelling-place. The rite of the passover would therefore be regarded by the Therapeuts as a typical memorial of the soul's deliverance from the prison-house of sin to the glorious liberty of God's children. Regarding as an abomination all bloody sacrifices, they changed the elements of the paschal rite, and instead of the lamb, regarded bread and water as the proper elements of this mystic rite. Water having been substituted for the wine, which seems originally to have been used on such occasions by the adherents of secret tradition, and which beverage the Therapeuts despised, the new elements of the 'holy food' were no doubt regarded as typifying the 'bread' and the 'wine,' which the Divine Wisdom, Word or Spirit 'mingles'² in the sanctuary of the soul.

To these earliest testimonies of Josephus and of Philo, about the Essenes and the Therapeuts, we add the apostolic notices of Epiphanius. 'The Essenes, who do all according to the law, make use also of other Scriptures

¹ See Gfrörer, 'Urchristenthum,' ii. 294.

² Prov. ix. 5.

by the side of (or 'later than') the law; but they discard most of the later prophets.'¹ Again, 'the heresy of the Essenes follows the policy of the Jews with respect to the keeping of the Sabbath, and the circumcision, and the keeping of the whole law, but they condemn the books in like manner as do the Nazarenes.'² What books these were, and in what sense they were condemned by the Essenes in the fourth century, we may gather from the following passage, which we find in the writings of Epiphanius, and which refers to the Nazarenes:—'The patriarchs in the Pentateuch from Adam till Moses, who distinguished themselves by piety, they do accept as divinely inspired men, particularly Adam, Seth, Enoch, Methuselah, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Levi, Aaron, and Joshua the Son of Nun; but *they discard the Pentateuch*, not as if they denied Moses, or as if they did not believe that the law had been given to him, but they merely assert, that the (identical) law, which really had been given to him, is *another* than that which is generally used.'³ It does not necessarily follow from this, that the Essenes hereby wished to refer to that, at least partial, recomposition or revision of the holy books by Ezra, to which we shall presently advert; but this much is absolutely certain, that they took recourse to allegorical interpretations of the letter of holy writ, believing the letter of the law to be the hieroglyphic of a hidden revelation.

This tends to show, that the Essenes in Palestine, and the Therapeuts in Egypt, were acquainted with the principles of a secret tradition, which they believed to have originated with Adam, and of which Moses was the last revealer. The same view is developed in that remarkable work of the first, second, and later centuries, A.C., which was originally entitled 'The Preaching of Peter,' and which we shall minutely consider. The testimony of Josephus, with regard to the Essenes, is of the highest value, since he was a native of Palestine, and as he

¹ Ep. ad Ac. and Paul.² Naer. i. 19.³ Naer. i. 18.

CHAP.
II

informs us, belonged to this sect, at least in the earlier part of his life. He states that the Essenians kept their mysteries strictly private, and that when an Essenian was received into the order, he had solemnly to promise in a prescribed form of oath,¹ to cultivate moral habits, not to communicate to any new member the doctrines of the order in any other form than that in which they had been communicated to him, that is, probably after a double probation or novitiate of three years; that he would keep secret the books of the sect, and that he would not reveal to any non-Essene the names of the angels. The latter restriction shows that the principal doctrine of secret tradition referred to heavenly beings, and no doubt especially to the Divine Word from the beginning, the Mediator between God and man, and the Saviour of all.

The cause for this secrecy must be found in the circumstance, that the influential sect of the Sadducees did entirely, and the Pharisees partly, reject the traditions of their forefathers, that is the principles of Jewish reform, the publication of which we are trying to trace back to the Babylonian captivity. We cannot prove that the Pharisees excluded from their traditions the doctrine of the Divine Word. All we know is that the doctrine of God's special providence, as opposed to fate, was entirely rejected by the Sadducees, only partly accepted by the Pharisees, and entirely received by the Essenes.² The latter must therefore have formed that party in the Jewish Church, of which Philo informs us, that its members by way of interpretation derived from holy writ the doctrine of **special providence**. It is impossible not to connect this doctrine directly with that referring to the Divine Word of all ages. And since the same can be proved by the Apocrypha of the Septuagint to have formed the very centre of the hidden wisdom, we are justified in asserting that the Essenes in Palestine, and the Therapeuts in Egypt, were the only faithful guardians of secret tradition. What

¹ See Jos. de Bell. ii. 7.

² Ant. 13, 18.

Josephus thought of the latter may be inferred from the manner in which he refers to the mode in which Moses communicated the revelations with which he had been favoured; and here we may first state, that the peculiar reverence which the Essenes entertained for Moses was such, that any blasphemy uttered against him was punished with death. He was regarded as a prophet, and as more than a prophet, as the forerunner and type of the prophet like Moses, of the promised Messiah. His god-loving soul had through Divine wisdom been closely united with the Father of the spirits of all flesh. He did know where he might find Him, and how he might even come before His presence. He truly sought Him with all his heart, amidst the solitude of the Sinaitic rocks. He was brought near, so as to behold the glory of God, and he veiled it from the eyes of his people who were afar off, and whose carnal eyes were dazzled by the glory which reflected from His countenance, by that glory which they thought no man could see and live, and of which yet the bright mirror was Moses. He had not distrusted, but 'adored the power of God,' and to him God vouchsafed 'the knowledge of his own name.'¹ According to Josephus, Moses only recognised such an observance of the laws which he had given them 'by Divine suggestion,' as was supported by meditation 'upon *the wisdom that is in them*.'² The Mosaic writings are therefore the hieroglyphics of the hidden wisdom. 'Everything is adapted to the nature of the whole, whilst the lawgiver most adroitly *suggests* some things as in a riddle, and *represents* some things with solemnity, as in an allegory; but whenever it may be expedient to make a straightforward statement, he *expresses things clearly and definitely*. Those, however, who desire to dive into the causes of each of these things, will have to use *much and deep philosophical speculation*.'³

It is highly probable that the doctrine of the Essenes

¹ Ant. ii. 12, 2, 4.

² Ant. 4, 8, 2.

³ Pref. to Ant.

CHAP.
II.

and of the Therapeuts was identical. Both despised bloody sacrifices, and since the temple had been turned into what was hardly more than a slaughter-house ('a den of murderers,' Mat. xxi. 13), they absented themselves altogether from the temple, and were what we should now call dissenters. In both sects, community of goods was the established rule. Marriage seems to have been discouraged, if not actually forbidden. Slaves were not suffered. The members of both orders wore the same, or at least a similar kind of white garment¹ during summer, and one of a coarser and warmer substance during winter. It cannot be doubted that they abstained from meat, and they ranged in the society according to the time of membership. Overseers rigidly maintained discipline and order. Prayers were regularly held in the morning and in the evening, the faces turned towards the sun. The Sabbath was more strictly observed than among the other Jews; and, finally, both orders had mystical meals.

It cannot be proved when either of these brotherhoods were first organised. If already during the Babylonian captivity, the sects of the Pharisees and the Sadducees were founded, the Essenic order may have begun to exist before the return to the Holy Land; and the Syro-Chaldaean name of Essenes, or Healers, would naturally be in Egypt hellenised into Therapeuts. But it is also possible that for a time all the adherents to the principles of the reformed national faith were called Pharisees or Separatists, and that at a later period dogmatical differences arose between the Protestant party. We have no reason for assuming that the Therapeuts existed before the Essenes. The contrary assumption would be more probable.

In conclusion, we give the remarkable passage in which

¹ According to Clement of Alexandria, Christians were ordered to wear 'simple garments of white colour' (Paed. iii. 11). Josephus records (Ant. iv. 8, 11) that Moses forbade garments 'made of woollen and linen,' which were appointed for priests only. The white garments of the Essenes therefore typify the universal priesthood.

Philo, who seems to have visited Palestine, refers to the Essenic principles of life and doctrine. 'The following three things regulate all they learn and do : love to God, love of virtue, love to man. A proof of their love to God is the matchless sanctity of their entire life, their fear of oaths and of lies, and the conviction that God is only the originator of good, never of evil. They show their love of virtue by indifference to gain, glory, pleasure ; by temperance and perseverance, and also by simplicity, absence of wants, humility, faithfulness, and straightforwardness. Their love to their fellow-creatures they exemplified by kindness, absence of pretensions, and finally by the community of goods.'¹ Considering, then, the doctrines and the practices of the Essenes and of the Therapeuts as essentially similar, we derive from the above statements the following conclusions.

Whilst keeping the whole law, they so spiritualised its meaning as to harmonise the letter of the same with 'the hidden wisdom,' that is, with the principles of the tradition which their forefathers derived from Moses, and which yet the Sadducees rejected altogether, inasmuch as they were not recorded in the Pentateuch. As the innermost sanctuary of the Divine Spirit, they dedicated the soul to God. This formed the corner-stone of their worship, and of their daily life. Accordingly they prayed for, and in their life and conversation strove after, the manifestation of the renewing influences of the Holy Spirit from above, of the Divine sun shining into their hearts by the grace of God.

With a view to worship God in spirit and in truth, they in such a manner modified some of the rites prescribed by the letter of the law as to render them the types of hidden verities revealed by God to man. Although they did not object to the circumcision, yet in the description of their Pentecostal or Jubilean ceremonies no mention is made either of the 'seven lambs without

¹ Mang. 2, 458.

CHAP.
II.

blemish,' nor of 'the young bullocks and two rams,' nor of the 'one kid of the goats for a sin-offering, and two lambs of the first year for a sacrifice of peace-offerings,' as prescribed by the law.¹ As they objected to all bloody sacrifices, according to the unanimous testimony of Philo and of Josephus, it is quite certain that they abolished also the rite of the paschal lamb. This is all the more likely, since on solemn occasions, when partaking of holy food and drink, water was drunk, and not wine, which latter beverage they must have preferred, as typifying the atoning blood, if they had considered it necessary to introduce this symbolical element in the spiritual solemnities of their worship. They regarded the heart of man as the holiest of the holy, the terrestrial dwelling-place of the Most High, where the Holy Ghost is the high priest, who sanctifies, and thus makes acceptable to God, the free gifts which the creature offers up on the individual and invisible altar, to the individual and invisible Creator, whose throne is in the heavens.

We shall see that Stephen in a similar manner interpreted the Mosaic account about the sanctuary, which Moses built according to 'the pattern' revealed to him on the mount.² The earthly tabernacle of Israel may be fitly regarded as a type of God's kingdom, that is, of the tabernacle of the soul, where God will meet with man, and will commune with him from above the mercy-seat.³ As the court led to the holiest of the holy, so Judaism led to Christianity. It is only in that outer court that those bloody sacrifices took place which turned the house of God into a charnel-house. As the most holy was the abode of the Shechina, into which the high-priest could alone enter, and which by a veil was divided from the holy place, so the sanctuary of the soul is the dwelling-place of God's Holy Spirit from above; and this holy place of man is by the veil of the flesh divided from the most holy celestial throne of God, to which the soul is

¹ Lev. xxiii. 18, 19.² Comp. Ex. xxv. 9, 40.³ Comp. Ex. xxv. 22.

admitted when it has lost its fetters, when the flesh is decayed, the veil is rent. Israel is called to a royal priesthood, and every inhabitant of the Jerusalem of the latter days shall be called holy, whilst on his forehead shall be engraved the signet: 'Holiness to the Lord.'¹

CHAP.
II.

Having pointed out which were the doctrinal principles of the Pharisees, of the Sadducees, and of the Essenes, we must now more minutely consider the secret or apocryphal tradition from which the principles of the Essenes, and partly also of the Pharisees, were developed, and which the Sadducees rejected.

Secret
tradition.

A complete record of the principles of verbal tradition was not composed before the very end of the second century, when Rabbi Jehuda, the Holy, wrote the 'Mishna,' or 'the second law' (Deuteronomy), or, as it is especially called, 'the verbal law,' which, with its later supplement, the 'Gemara,' or 'completion,' formed the 'Talmud,' or 'science properly so called.' The Talmud is a compendium of the oral law, and was finally published in the end of the fifth century. By the same the Israelitic faith and constitution were for ever regulated. The gradual development of this verbal tradition, or at least the gradually general acceptance of the same, is proved by the fact that there existed previously to the publication of the Talmud, a double Gemara, or complete compendium of the principles of tradition. Of the so-called Jerusalemite Gemara, of Galilean origin, only some extracts have been transmitted to us, all of which probably point to the early fourth and the preceding centuries; whilst the Babylonian Gemara, which was composed in Sura of Babylon, and completed about the year 500 A.C., is regarded up to the present day by the Jews as the sublimest exponent of their faith. Again, of the two most renowned teachers of tradition, that is, of the 'tanaim' Hillel and Shammai, the former, who may have been a contemporary of Christ, was called 'the Babylonian.' This goes somewhat to

¹ Comp. Ex. xxviii. 36-38, &c.

CHAP.
II

confirm the opinion that the verbal tradition was perhaps more fully developed, but certainly was more generally known during the Babylonian captivity. That an hereditary verbal tradition among the Jews existed in the first Christian centuries is confirmed by the statement transmitted by Eusebius, that Hegesippus, in the second century, recorded various matters taken from 'the unwritten tradition of the Jews.'¹ Epiphanius² and Jerome³ also refer to 'Jewish traditions,' forming 'the second law.'

The book of Enoch, written by a Palestinian probably between the years 130 and 110 before Christ, establishes the fact, that even in the pre-Christian period, certain principles of doctrine were committed to writing in Palestine, of which we shall later prove that they generally harmonise with the principles contained in the Alexandrian Apocrypha, which Scriptures never formed part of the Hebrew canon, and also with the Cabbalistic works entitled 'Jezirah' and 'Zohar.' These were published in later centuries as the compendiums of that originally verbal and secret tradition which, according to Pharisaical rule, was only communicated to the initiated, who transmitted it orally, or by means of mystical alphabets,⁴ whilst it was hidden from the public at large.

The verbal tradition among the Jews, later called 'Cabbala,' comprised till towards the time of Mahomet, in its general sense, everything that was not contained in the written law. The latter, although partly lost during the captivity, was finally edited by Ezra; and the statement of Irenæus, preserved to us by Eusebius, shows that few, if any, authoritative Scriptures had been preserved in their original form at the time of the return to the Holy Land. He writes: 'In the captivity of the people under Nebuchadnezzar, *when the Scriptures had*

¹ H. E. iv. 22.² Haer. 13.³ Ep. ad Alg.⁴ Comp. Jer. li. 41.
means Babylon.

According to the 'Atbash' Alphabet, Sheshach

been destroyed, and the Jews returned to their country after seventy years, subsequently, in the times of Artaxerxes, king of the Persians, God inspired Esdras the priest, of the tribe of Levi, to *compose anew* all the discourses of the ancient prophets, and to *restore* to the people *the laws* given by Moses.¹

It is customary to discredit this positive statement of Irenæus, uncontradicted though it be by any of the Fathers of the Church; on the other hand, implicit belief is urged in the Jewish tradition about 'the great synagogue,' which is assumed to have been, in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, the infallible organ of the Divine tradition originally revealed to Moses on Sinai. If, then, Ezra, in revising, if not in at least partly recomposing, the Holy Scriptures, really was guided by the divinely-inspired synagogue, why should this fact not have been acknowledged in the second century by Irenæus, who, without mentioning the great synagogue, informs us that Ezra himself was inspired to compose anew and to restore the Holy Scriptures? We are permitted to assume that this statement of Irenæus was made in answer to the positive charge, so often referred to in the so-called Clementine recognitions and homilies, that the Scriptures of the Jews were not genuine, having been to some extent adapted to the opinions of later ages. We know that such a charge was actually brought forward by Celsus, the probable contemporary of Irenæus, and also that, according to Epiphanius,² the Nazarenes, a sect closely allied to the Essenes, made the same charge. Irenæus had therefore every reason to make the most of the supposed infallible organ of Mosaic tradition, which preserved Ezra from all error. Instead of doing so, he establishes a parallel between the divinely-wrought individual inspiration of the seventy in their secluded cells, and between the individual inspiration of Ezra.

So long as the tradition remained a verbal one only, it

¹ H. E. v. 8.

² Haer. 18.

CHAP.
II.

was quite possible for the Sadducees and the Pharisees to agree in the recognition of the law and the prophets as composed and compiled by Ezra. It would be left to the mode of interpretation to harmonise the sacred text with the peculiar tenets of each sect. And this seems to have been the practice in the Jewish Church after the return from the captivity. For we know that the letter of Scripture was by the Pharisees not deemed sufficient for the right understanding of the ancient records of the faith. Josephus writes :—‘ The Pharisees . . . follow *the conduct of reason*, and what that prescribes to them as good for them, they do ; and they think they ought earnestly to strive to observe *reason's dictates* for practice.’¹ Now, if we remember that the Pharisees and Essenes are stated to have admitted the allegorical form of interpretation, which the Sadducees excluded, it will be sufficiently obvious that the authority of private judgment became gradually acknowledged in the pre-Christian period by the side of Scriptural authority in the literal sense of the word. Thus originated two totally distinct systems of doctrine with regard to the nature of revelation. To the Sadducees the very letter of the sacred text, as perhaps finally settled by Ezra, would be regarded as absolutely binding on the conscience ; but to the Essenes and Pharisees the written word was binding only in so far as it could by interpretation be brought in harmony with ‘ the dictates of reason.’ Thus the domain of reason was added to the domain of faith, the source of both being regarded as divine. If, on the one hand, the sacred records of the past had been revealed through the medium of reason, but yet in a more or less supernatural manner, it had, on the other hand, become more evident to the reformed Israelite, by his contact with the east, that God had revealed himself also to such who knew nothing about the law revealed to Moses. Such revelations, through the medium of human reason, could not

¹ Ant. xviii. 1.

but be conceived as being also to a certain extent supernaturally transmitted by the God above to man below. Human reason being thus regarded as capable of becoming the vehicle of Divine inspiration, faith could not be entirely separated from reason. But the implicit belief that God had revealed himself to Moses, if not in an exceptional manner, at least in an exceptional degree, and that these supernatural revelations had been ever since faithfully preserved, if not by Scripture, by verbal tradition, united all classes and parties among the Jews in an exceptional reverence for Moses.

Moreover, by the partial recognition of the principle of private judgment, and by the acceptation of the standard of oral tradition in the synagogues, a new element had been introduced, which was dangerous to the authority of those to whom the government of the church had been confided. Reason and conscience and faith are essentially individual, therefore the interpretation of Scripture by the aid of progressive and individual enlightenment must be subversive of any authority which disregards the claims of individual consciousness. The traditional practice of the Pharisees has not lost sight of a circumstance so likely to endanger the continuance of their absolute rule. To erect a hedge round the written law,¹ as edited by Ezra, and as rigidly preserved by the later Massoretic school, this was the imperative injunction of Pharisaical tradition in Palestine,² and it was followed up by the rigidly enforced practice, not to teach the principles of secret tradition in the schools. The most renowned teachers of tradition, the 'tanaim,' seem therefore, to have belonged principally, if not exclusively, to the mystic sect of the Essenes, to whose intimate connexion with the Therapeuts of Egypt we have referred. Whilst then the written law was in Palestine strictly preserved as it had been recognised, if not settled, after the return from the captivity, the verbal law, in

¹ 'Facite sepem præ lege.'

² Pirke Abôth i. 1.

CHAP.
II.

accordance to which the former was interpreted, was but known to few; and whilst its verbal interpretation was permitted in the synagogues, it seems to have been excluded from the temple-service. So great was the respect which the Mishnah required for every scribe or learned and authorised interpreter of the written law, that to say anything against any of them was specified as an offence twice as great as any directed against the letter of the law itself.¹

But in Egypt the case was widely different. The Jews in Alexandria imported to the former country of bondage the traditions transmitted by succession of their forefathers. There they were not restrained by any severe church-government, and accordingly the habit of freely interpreting the sacred records soon led to a revision and reformation of holy writ. The Alexandrian Jew would not revere the letter of Scripture as the conveyancer of its plain meaning, as the stereotype expression of an unvarying truth; but as the mysterious hieroglyphic of a truth to be spiritually discerned, as an outward sign of a hidden mystery. Seen in this light, the letter would lose its for-ever-binding authority, and it would be totally disregarded whenever it was irredeemably opposed to the principles of secret tradition, which were always intended to complete and interpret the written law. The right of private judgment having thus, to a certain extent, been admitted, the individual to whom the oral tradition had been confided had thereby become, in a fuller sense of the word, a responsible agent. The honest enquirer after truth could not but perceive that in various instances it was impossible to harmonise by any ideological process the literal meaning of the sacred text, with the exigencies of an advanced age, that is, with the ever-revealing 'still small voice,' the indwelling witness of the Most High, through the instrumentality of which the hidden things of God gradually were revealed to the people.

¹ Mish. Sorah xi. 3.

The Mishnah or the second law refers in these words to the origin of that verbal law, which, ever since Moses, had been orally transmitted. 'Moses received the (verbal) law from Sinai, and delivered it to Joshua, and Joshua to the elders, and the elders to the prophets, and the prophets to the men of the great synagogue.'¹ This statement is corroborated by the very remarkable passage from Josephus to which we have referred, and in which he insists on Moses having known more than he dared to disclose to the people. And in the Epistle of Peter to James, prefixed to the so-called Clementine homilies, as well as in the latter themselves, Moses is shown to have given over the tradition 'to the seventy men who took his seat after him;' and these were the forerunners of the Pharisees, whom Christ acknowledged as sitting in the seat of Moses. Yet nowhere is it said or implied that the secret tradition was altogether originally revealed on Mount Sinai to Moses. We shall later point out, that according to the ancient tradition recorded in this pseudo-Clementine document, before the time when the most ancient part of the Mishnah was composed, the Divine Spirit, Wisdom or Word has in all ages inspired the prophets, and among them in a higher degree than all the rest, such men as Adam, Abraham, and Moses, who were prophets in the highest sense of the word. We shall see that Clement of Alexandria refers to the above-named homilies as written before his time, and as containing the acknowledged record of Peter's preaching. And the same writer, who lived in the time of Jehuda, in another part of his works refers to the secret doctrine of Christ as having been by him confided to James, Peter, and John.² All these testimonies point to a secret or hidden tradition having existed from the earliest times among the Jews. The gradual revealing of the same would naturally lead to a development of the national faith, and to alterations in the holy books.

¹ Pirke Abóth 1.² Eus H. E. ii. 1.

CHAP.
II.

We shall now establish the fact that during the last two or three centuries of the pre-Christian era many passages of holy writ were in Egypt systematically altered, and that to the so revised and reformed Hebrew canon recently composed Scriptures were added, containing new principles of doctrine.

ALEXANDRIAN APOCRYPHA.

Septua-
gint.

The Alexandrian canon, or the Septuagint, may be called the Apocryphal canon, not only because apocryphal writings formed part of the same, but because, instead of being a translation of the Hebrew or Palestinian canon, it was a version of the latter composed, as we shall show, for the purpose of harmonising the ancient records with the principles of hidden or apocryphal tradition. The composition of the Greek version of the Old Testament is attributed by such men as Josephus, Justin Martyr, and Irenæus, to 70 or 72 Jews, or Elders, who, as the latter informs us, were 'best skilled in the Scriptures, and in both languages.' He adds, that as Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, 'wished them to make the attempt separately, and apprehensive lest by concert they might conceal the truth of the Scriptures by their interpretation, therefore separating them from one another, he commanded all to write the same translation. And this he did in all the books. Assembling therefore in the same place, in the presence of Ptolemy, and each of them comparing their respective versions, God was glorified, and the Scriptures were recognised as truly Divine, as all of them rendered the same things in the very same expressions, and the same words from the beginning to the end. So that the Gentiles present knew that the Scriptures were translated by a Divine inspiration.'

Discarding this legend, the historical fact remains that about the year 285 B.C. the first complete, though rectified and augmented, version of the Hebrew canon was

commenced in Egypt. Although but the five books attributed to Moses seem to have been written in the third century before Christ, yet all other Scriptures which form part of the Alexandrian collection were in circulation in the second pre-Christian century. Now, we must bear in mind that no Jewish colony had settled in Egypt before the foundation of Alexandria (332 B.C.), except the Jewish refugees, who after the murder of Gedaliah took refuge there, and were carried captive to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar. The Jews who settled in Alexandria in the time of its founder, and under the Ptolemies, were therefore the descendants of those who had returned from Babylon, or who had remained among the Chaldæans. If, then, it can be proved that the Jewish colony in Egypt introduced new doctrines into the Greek version of the Hebrew canon, the supposition will gain ground that these new doctrines originated partly in Babylon, or at least that they then began to form part of the national code.

With regard to the Septuagint as a whole, it has been fully established that the Hebrew text is, to a certain extent, systematically altered. The leading object of those who finally settled the pre-Christian text of the Greek version clearly was to remove in every way the highest God from the visible world, and to attribute to the Messiah an eternal and heavenly nature. Since the Jews in Egypt did, even up to Philo's time, insist on the fundamental principle of an external source of revelation, we are in the outset led to assume that the new principle of the invisibility of God stood in some connexion with a doctrine of intermediate intelligences, or mediatorial beings; and that the Messiah may already in the pre-Christian time have been identified with the Angel of Jehovah.¹ The principal alterations of the Hebrew text, effected for the purpose of eradicating the notion that God was at any time visible, are the following: Ex. xxiv.

¹ See Gfrörer's 'Urchristenthum,' 1835, i. 2, pp. 8-18.

CHAP.
II

9--11; Num. xii. 8; Job xix. 15--27, xxxv. 14; Is. xxxviii.

11. Those passages in which the Greek translators betray a change in the Messianic doctrine are more rare, but equally clear. According to the Greek version of Is. ix. 6, the Messiah presides over the Council of Angels, and thus might be understood to be a heavenly mediator. A similar tendency can be traced in the translation of Ps. c. 3, which passage is likewise treated as Messianic, and in the above exclusively supernatural sense.

Other alterations in the text of the Septuagint, as transmitted to us, divulge the secret that the translators or final editors of Genesis were well versed in Platonic ideas, and that it was their intention to harmonise with the same the Mosaic writings. In the Hebrew the earth is described as 'without form and void,'¹ but in harmony with Plato's fundamental principle about the eternity of matter, the authors of the Septuagint make Moses declare that the earth was 'invisible and without form.' In another passage it is stated that 'God created the green of the field before it existed on the earth, and all the herbs of the land before they sprouted.'² The translators are evidently bent upon showing that before the things were made which appertain to the visible world God created its types. This is a Platonic idea, of which Philo asserts that it originated with Moses.

The systematic alterations of the Hebrew text in the Septuagint, and, still more so, the additional Scriptures, called Apocrypha, which always formed part of the Alexandrian, whilst they were excluded from the Palestinian canon, lead us therefore in the outset to assume that the secret tradition among the Jews was the cause of these alterations and additions.

It is now generally admitted, that the distinguishing title of Apocrypha was given to these books because the doctrine therein contained was originally transmitted by a verbal tradition, with which the initiated only were

¹ Gen. i. 2.

² Gen. ii. 5.

made acquainted, whilst it was '*hidden*' from the community at large. The fact that the most ancient of these apocryphal Scriptures was originally written, not in Greek, but in the Chaldaean Hebrew language, points to the Babylonian captivity, or to the times immediately following, as to the period when the principles of secret tradition had been either more developed, or had become so generally known as to be written down. From the reasons we have previously given, we may assume the earliest scriptural record of apocryphal or hidden tradition to have been composed soon after the settlement of the Jewish colony in Egypt, in the fourth or third century B.C.

The most ancient of the apocryphal books contained in the Septuagint collection is the originally Hebrew Scripture, entitled, 'The Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach,' which was either written in Babylon, or in Egypt at a time when the Greek language had not yet taken the place of the Hebrew. The Hebrew or Aramean original bore the title: 'Proverbs of Ben Sira,' and was still known to Jerome. The few fragments which we possess of it show that the Greek version is not a literal translation of the original. According to the preface, the Greek version was composed in Egypt by the grandson of the author, 'in the reign of Euergetes,' and therefore probably before the year 222 B.C. The book was called 'Ecclesiasticus,' because beyond the confines of Palestine it was used in the services of the church, and because it formed the standard book of religious tuition. Like all other apocryphal books, it was forbidden to be read in Palestine, and it never formed part of the Hebrew canon. The most important among the apocryphal books is the Book of 'Wisdom.' It is mentioned in the Muratorian list of canonical books, as having been written 'by the friends of Solomon, in honour of him;' whilst Athanasius places it before the writings of the Son of Sirach. From these two apocryphal books of the pre-Christian period, it is

Jesus
Sirach.

Book of
Wisdom.

CHAP.
II.

easy to conjecture which were the peculiar doctrines of apocryphal verbal tradition, which the Sadducees in Palestine rejected, and of which some never found their way into the Hebrew canon.

The leading principles contained in the pre-Christian Apocrypha are the following.

God is One and Invisible.—The author of Ecclesiasticus calls God ‘the Holy One,’¹ ‘the One wise and greatly to be feared, the Lord sitting upon his throne;’² ‘He that liveth for ever and created all things in general, . . . the only righteous.’³ And the writer exclaims: ‘Who hath seen Him, that he might tell us, and who can magnify Him as he is?’⁴ This view about the mysterious and invisible person of God pervades the whole book. Thus instead of saying, that God spake with Moses ‘face to face, as a man speaketh unto his friend;’⁵ the writer states, that God gave Moses to see ‘part of his glory.’⁶ Again, whilst in Exodus it is written,⁷ that Moses ‘drew near unto the thick darkness (or cloud) where God was;’ it is here stated,⁸ that God ‘brought him into the dark cloud, and gave him commandment before his face.’

In the book of Wisdom, perhaps composed as late as 100 B.C., God is called ‘the Almighty,’ ‘the Lord of all things;’⁹ ‘the Lord of mercy.’¹⁰ And whilst in the account of the Exodus, no reference is made to visible manifestations of God’s persons; it is expressly stated, that God’s ‘saints had a very great light,’ a ‘burning pillar of fire,’ and ‘a sun which had been rendered harmless for their glorious wandering.’¹¹ From this we gather, that according to the apocryphal tradition, God was conceived as one and invisible, although in the most ancient Hebrew records God is represented as having manifested his person. So far, therefore, the apocryphal

¹ xliii. 10.² i. 8.³ xviii. 1-2.⁴ xliii. 31.⁵ Exod. xxxiii. 11.⁶ xlv. 3.⁷ xx. 21.⁸ xlv. 5.⁹ viii. 3-4.¹⁰ ix. 1.¹¹ xviii. 1-3.

doctrine coincides with the Aryan and Babylonian tradition.

The first-born among all creatures is the Divine Spirit, Wisdom or Word, the Mediator between the Creature and the Creator, and the organ of sanctification and immortality.

—The writer of Ecclesiasticus states in the outset of his work, that ‘Wisdom cometh from the Lord, and is with Him for ever,’ being the first-born among all creatures. Through Wisdom the world was created; she formed the spheres of heaven, and descended into the deep: she was created like all creatures, but before them. ‘The One wise and greatly to be feared, the Lord sitting upon His throne, He created her, . . . and poured her out upon all His works; . . . she is with all flesh according to His grace (or gift).’¹ He has given wisdom to the ‘godly,’ and has ‘wrought great glory’ by the fathers of Israel, ‘who were the glory of their times;’ He has ‘wrought this through His great power from the beginning.’² Yet He ‘poureth forth His mercy,’ not only on His chosen people Israel, His ‘first-born,’ but on all mankind.³

In the book of Ecclesiasticus, which in several passages points to the book of Proverbs, or rather to a source common to both, we can trace the remarkable transition to which we shall later refer, from the conception of the Divine Word, as a luminary apparition (*kabôd*), to the revelation of the Word as the unseen Divine agency in man, typified by the *Shechina* in the holiest of the holy. She is represented as first appearing in a cloudy pillar, and then as seeking rest in every people and nation, but remaining or resting only in Jacob. Praising herself, Wisdom says: ‘I came out of the mouth of the Most High, and covered the earth as a cloud;’⁴ I dwelt in high places, and my throne is in a cloudy pillar.⁵ I alone compassed the circuit of heaven, and walked in the bottom of the deep. In the waves of the sea and all the earth, and in

¹ i. 8-10.

² xliv. 2-7.

³ xviii. 13.

⁴ Comp. Gen. i. 2.

⁵ Comp. Exod. xiii. 21.

CHAP.
II.

every people and nation, I got a possession. With all these I sought rest ; and in whose inheritance shall I abide ? So the Creator of all things gave me a commandment, and he that made me, caused my tabernacle to rest, and said : let thy dwelling be in Jacob, and thine inheritance in Israel. He created me from the beginning before the world, and I shall never fail. In the holy tabernacle I served before him ; and so was I established in Sion. Likewise in the beloved city he gave me rest, and in Jerusalem was my power. And I took root in an honourable people, even in the portion of the Lord's inheritance.'¹

In other passages it is shown why she found rest only in Jacob. 'Wisdom exalteth her children, and layeth hold of them that seek her ; . . . they that seek her early shall be filled with joy. He that holdeth her fast shall inherit glory ; and wheresoever she entereth, the Lord will bless. They that serve her shall minister to the Holy One, and them that love her the Lord doth love. Whoso giveth ear unto her shall judge the nations, and he that attendeth unto her shall dwell securely. If a man committeth himself unto her, he shall inherit her ; and his generation shall hold her in possession. For at the first she will walk with him by crooked ways, and bring fear and dread upon him, and torment him with her discipline, until she may trust his soul, and try him by her laws. Then will she return the straight way unto him, and comfort him, and show him her secrets. But if he go wrong, she will forsake him and give him over to his own ruin.'² 'Come unto her with thy whole heart, and keep her ways with all thy power. Search and seek, and she shall be made known unto thee ; and when thou hast got hold of her, let her not go. For at the last thou shalt find her rest, and that shall be turned to thy joy ; . . . the Lord . . . shall establish thine heart, and give thee wisdom at thine own desire.'³

¹ xxiv. 8-12.² iv. 11-19.³ Comp. Eccl. vi. 17-37 ; xiv. 20-27.

The author of the book of Wisdom gives a clear definition of what he calls 'Wisdom,' or 'the Word,' or 'the Spirit from above.' It proceeds from God, and pervades all spirits of 'understanding.'¹ Wisdom has in her 'an understanding Spirit, holy, only begotten, manifold, subtil, lively, clear, undefiled, plain, not subject to hurt, loving the thing that is good; quick, which cannot be letted; ready to do good, kind to man, steadfast, sure, free from care; having all power, overseeing all things, and going through all spirits of understanding, pure and tender. For Wisdom is more moving than any motion, she passeth and goes through all things by reason of her purity. For she is the breath of the power of God, and a pure influence flowing from the glory of the Almighty. Therefore can no defiled thing enter into her. For she is the brightness of the everlasting light, the unspotted mirror of the power of God, and the image of his goodness. And being but One, she can do all things; and remaining in herself, she maketh all things new; and in all ages entering into holy souls, she maketh them friends of God, and prophets.'² 'The Lord of all things himself loved her, for she is privy to the mysteries of the knowledge of God, and a lover of His works.'³

Wisdom 'sitteth by' the throne of God. Therefore the writer exclaims: 'Wisdom was with Thee, which knoweth Thy works, and was present when Thou madest the world, and knew what is acceptable in Thy sight, and right in Thy commandments. O send her out of Thy holy heavens, and from the throne of Thy glory, that being present she may labour with me, that I may know what is pleasing unto Thee.'⁴ 'By the means of her I shall obtain immortality;' for 'to be allied unto wisdom is immortality.'⁵

¹ Wis. vii. 23.⁴ ix. 4-10.² vii. 22-27.⁵ viii. 13-17.³ viii. 3-4.

CHAP.
II.

‘For the corruptible body presseth down the soul, and the earthly tabernacle weigheth down the mind that museth upon many things. And hardly do we guess aright of things that are upon earth, . . . but the things that are in heaven, who hath searched out?’ . . . By wisdom ‘men are taught the things that are pleasing unto Thee,’ and they were ‘saved through wisdom.’¹ She brought ‘the first-formed Father . . . out of his fall,’² and ‘when the ungodly perished, she delivered the righteous man.’³ ‘Thy word, O Lord, . . . healeth all things;’⁴ and ‘to know Thy power is the root of immortality.’⁵

The Divine Power, Spirit or Word in man, is eternal; it is the infinite jewel in the finite casket. The human and the divine nature of man, the carnal and the spiritual birth, are clearly distinguished in the book of Wisdom as the two component parts of man, created to the image of God. ‘The offspring of him that was first made of the earth,’ has only to call upon God, and ‘the spirit of wisdom’ will come unto him, and produce a light within him which ‘never goeth out.’⁶ As if the writer intended to explain the heavenly origin of the soul, he teaches, like Philo after him, the pre-existence of the soul. ‘*I was a child of a goodly kind*, and had a good spirit; yea, rather, because I *was* good, I came into a body undefiled.’⁷ Because the soul is the abode of the Divine Spirit, and because the latter was in the beginning with God, therefore the soul is eternal. But it is evident that this passage can only be understood in a figurative sense, for the same writer insists upon it, that it is God, man’s maker, who ‘inspired into him an active soul, and breathed in a living spirit.’⁸ But because the flesh wars against the spirit, because ‘the corruptible body presseth down the soul, and the earthly tabernacle weigheth down the mind that museth upon many things,’ therefore that germ of heavenly birth in man is not developed as it ought to be.

¹ Wis. ix. 15-18.² x. 1.³ x. 6.⁴ xvi. 12.⁵ xv. 3.⁶ vii. 1-10.⁷ viii. 19, 20⁸ xv. 11.

Because 'the thoughts of mortal men are miserable,' man cannot know the 'counsel' of God, except He give wisdom, and send His 'holy spirit from above.' It is through this Divine agency that 'the ways of them which lived on the earth were reformed, and men were taught the things that are pleasing "unto God," and were saved through wisdom.'¹ For the Divine wisdom 'in all ages entering into holy souls, she maketh them friends of God and prophets.'²

This reformation, this redemption, this mission of the Eternal Word, had become necessary, because where 'unrighteousness cometh in,' the Holy Spirit will not abide; and 'into a malicious soul wisdom shall not enter, nor dwell in the body that is subject unto sin.'³ For although 'God created man to be immortal, and made him to be an image of His own eternity; nevertheless through envy of the devil came death into the world, and they that do hold of his side do find it. But the souls of the righteous are in the hand of God, and there shall no torment touch them. In the sight of the unwise they seemed to die, and their departure is taken for misery, and their going from us utter destruction; but they are in peace. For though they be punished in the sight of men, yet is their hope full of immortality. And having been a little chastised, they shall be greatly rewarded; for God proved them, and found them worthy for himself; as gold in the furnace hath He tried them, and received them as a burnt-offering.'⁴ The soul is 'lent' unto man, and is redemanded by God.⁵ It is a talent confided to his stewardship, for which he must give an account, and according to which he will be rewarded or punished.⁶

Like 'the cloudy pillar,' which is designated in the Apocrypha as the 'throne' of the Divine Word,⁷ the

¹ Wis. ix. 13-18.² vii. 27.³ i. 5, 4.⁴ ii. 23, 24; iii. 1-6.⁵ xv. 8.⁶ i. 12-15; iii. 9, 18, 19; iv. 10-20; v. 14-20; vi. 12-19; xi. 24.⁷ Eccl. xxiv. 4.

CHAP.
II

latter is at once a blessing to the good and a curse to the evil.¹ In the beginning, in the aboriginal 'silence,' during the great chaotic night, the 'Almighty Word leaped down from heaven,' as a ray of light out of the royal throne of God, 'as a fierce man of war into the midst of a land of destruction,' and brought down God's 'unfeigned commandment as a sharp sword, and, standing up, filled all things with death; and it touched the heaven, but it stood upon the earth.'² Divine wisdom was therefore conceived as an essence which emanated from the God above, and yet dwelt on the earth. It was at once in heaven and earth, the connecting link, the mediator between the creature and the Creator. And though towards rebellious man it would act like the 'flaming sword, which turned every way, to keep the way of the tree of life;' ³ yet those who in their need turned to the Divine Word, were 'saved' by the same, who is 'the Saviour of all,' and delivers 'from all evil.'⁴ The Word or grace of God is granted 'according to the desire' of them that have 'need;' and as to the 'sons' of God, his 'mercy' is 'ever by them,' to heal them and to feed them 'with angel's food.'⁵

Divine wisdom was conceived as an essence which emanated from the God above to be with man below. The 'Almighty Word leaped down from heaven' out of the Royal throne, for the purpose of making of sons of men sons of God, and especially in Israel. Whilst therefore the Wisdom or Word of God is represented as 'the Saviour of all,' who 'healeth all things;' it is likewise

¹ Ex. xiv. 20. ² Wis. xviii. 14-16. ³ Gen. iii. 24. ⁴ Wis. xvi. 7-8.

⁵ Wis. xvi. 25, 10, 20. A few verses farther on it is written: 'We must precede the sun to give thee thanks, and at the dayspring pray unto thee' (Wis. xvi. 28). This passage has been interpreted as showing that the writer of the book of Wisdom was a Therapeut, inasmuch as the members of this brotherhood used regularly to pray at the time of the rising sun (Gfrörer ii. 266). At all events he was learned in that secret tradition, of which the Therapists and Essenes were the most faithful guardians.

declared to have been the cause of destruction for Israel's enemies, for it 'touched the heaven, but . . . stood upon the earth, . . . as a fierce man-of-war in the midst of a land of destruction.'¹ Like the cloudy pillar, which is designated as its throne, Wisdom is a blessing to the good, and a curse to the evil.² We confess, therefore, not to understand how it is possible to assert, that in these apocryphal Scriptures the Wisdom or Word or Spirit of God is referred to as one, yea, even as two Divine persons. It seems to us an equally unsubstantiated assumption, that the Word properly represented the meditative element in the action of God, and Wisdom the meditative element of His omnipresence, although the identity of Wisdom and Word and Spirit in the book of Wisdom is admitted. Unless, however, the assumed distinction of the Word and the Wisdom be admitted, it is not possible to agree that the 'one idea prepared men for the revelation of the Son of God, the other for the revelation of the Holy Spirit.'³

Not a trace of these doctrines is to be found in any of the books belonging to the Hebrew canon, if we except the book of Proverbs, to which we shall later refer. The latter must be termed an apocryphal book, inasmuch as the doctrine about the Divine Word, therein contained in its germ, can be shown to have been kept hidden in Palestine before and after this book was written. It is, however, in the Alexandrian Apocrypha that we find the principles of the apocryphal wisdom fully developed. Here only the Divine Wisdom or Word is shown to be the mediator between the creature and the Creator, and the organ of sanctification and immortality. These doctrines of the Divine Word are treated by such pre-Christian writers as Philo, Aristaeas, and Aristobulus, as mysteries. And

Secret
Doctrine.

¹ Wis. xviii. 13-16; xvi. 7, 12.

² Comp. Ex. xiv. 20.

³ See Mr. Westmacott's article on 'The Wisdom of Solomon,' in Smith's Dictionary, p. 1782.

CHAP.
II.

references to this apocryphal tendency may be traced in the book of Wisdom, where the open declaration of the truth is opposed to the hiding of the same. 'As for Wisdom, what she is, and how she came up, I will tell you, and *will not hide mysteries from you*, but will seek her out from the beginning of her nativity, and bring the knowledge of her into light, and will not pass over truth.'¹ In another passage the writer states, that having prayed to God, 'the Spirit of Wisdom' came unto him, and with the same 'all good things.' 'I knew not that she was the mother of them; I learned diligently, and do communicate her liberally; *I do not hide her riches*. For she is a treasure unto men that never faileth; which they that use become the friends of God, being commended for the gifts that come from learning; . . . for in his hand are both we and our words.'² The other reference to the hidden or apocryphal mysteries seems to point to those unreformed Jews, especially the Sadducees, who refused the doctrine of a future life. 'As for the mysteries of God, they (the ungodly) knew them not; neither hoped they for the wages of righteousness, nor discerned a reward for blameless souls. For God created man to be immortal, and made him to be an image of His own eternity. Nevertheless through envy of the devil came death into the world, and they that do hold of his side do find it.'³

Immor-
tality.

The apocryphal doctrine of a future life, of the immortality of the soul, is not in any way referred to in the Pentateuch. And it is no doubt for this reason that the Sadducees rejected the former, whilst they regarded no other writings than those attributed to Moses as absolutely binding, according to the uncontradicted and positive assertion of Origen, Jerome, and Epiphanius.⁴

That the writings of Moses, the sole binding standard of the Sadducean faith, do not contain any direct allusion

¹ Wis. vi. 22.² vii. 7-16; comp. viii. 21.³ ii. 22-24.⁴ Com. in Mat. and Haer. 14.

to a future life is evident.¹ This is confirmed by the fact that Christ, when disputing with the Sadducees about the resurrection, quotes a passage from the Pentateuch, which, if taken in its literal sense, does not refer to the resurrection at all. But he reproves them for their literal interpretation of the Scripture: 'Ye do err, not knowing the Scriptures, nor the power of God.'² They knew the passage quoted by the Lord, about God being the God of Abraham, and of Isaac, and of Jacob, as well as the other which they had just quoted about the marriage of a widow. But they did not know and acknowledge that by 'the power of God' the former passage could be so interpreted as to mean that 'God is not the God of the dead, but of the living.' For as God did not cease to be the God of Abraham, and of Isaac, and of Jacob, even after their respective deaths, these individuals cannot have ceased to exist as individuals, or otherwise God would be the God of the dead, and not of the living. This passage also shows that the Sadducees, whilst not openly refusing to accept the Prophets, would not have been satisfied if Christ had refuted their arguments by quoting a passage from the Prophets or the Psalms. Thus it may be explained why Christ did not quote other passages.³ Again, Christ would not refer to God having created man 'a living soul,' inasmuch as this passage would, by the

¹ Yet according to the historian Josephus, Moses not only knew the Divine 'power' or 'name' or 'favour' (grace) to be the source of all good in this life, but also in the life to come, and he spoke to the people about the future life of the soul. 'I cannot but deserve to be believed by you, both on account of the great things I have already done for you, and because *when souls are about to leave the body* they speak with the sincerest freedom. Oh, children of Israel, there is but one source of happiness, the favour of God' (Ant. iv. 8, 2). Again, Moses disappeared in a cloud, 'although he wrote in the holy books that he died, which was done out of fear lest they should venture to say that because of his extraordinary virtue he went to God' (Ant. iv. 8, 48).

² Matt. xxii. 29.

³ 2 Sam. xii. 23; Psalm xvi. 9-11; Hos. vi. 2; Ezek. xviii. 27; Isa. liii. 10, lv. 3; Dan. xii. 2, 13.

CHAP.
II.

Sadducees have been interpreted as merely referring to the principle of life, and not to immortality.

If in a single passage referring to the history of David, as also in a single Psalm, and in a few passages among the prophetic writings, the future life is referred to, the question arises whether any of these passages were written in the form transmitted to us previous to the Babylonian captivity. We have seen that Ezra may have recomposed the 'destroyed' Scriptures, and even have restored the laws given by Moses; and we shall presently point out some of the changes which seem to have been made in the ancient records by Ezra or by one of his predecessors. Discarding the view that a few isolated passages were inserted at a later time for the purpose of harmonising the past with the present, it follows that David and the great prophet spoke 'in the spirit' about the resurrection of the Holy One, although they did not refer to a general resurrection. It seems that before the Babylonian captivity the passage in Hosea¹ was not generally understood to refer to the resurrection from the dead.

The omission in the Pentateuch of every allusion to the immortality of the soul, the denial of this doctrine by the Sadducees, and their rejection of all verbal tradition, may well be insisted upon as facts which go very far to prove that this doctrine was a long time hidden from the chosen people of God as a nation, and that it was known only to the few who had been initiated in the Hidden Wisdom. The fact that Moses did not teach the doctrine of a future life is best explained by the other fact that the Egyptians, among whom this doctrine was certainly known long before Moses, had to such an extent mixed up this great truth with their Polytheistic views, that Moses saw the necessity of not teaching what he must have known. If so, secret tradition among the Israelites would reach up to Moses, if not beyond; and this is what in the 'homilies,' Peter is stated to have asserted.

¹ vi. 2.

The doctrine of immortality had been confirmed by prophets among the Israelites during and after the captivity; but the doctrine of the Divine Word, whilst it was accepted and developed by the Alexandrian Church, was probably rejected by the Church in Palestine; it certainly had not been confirmed by any of the prophets. If we except the book of Enoch, which, though written in Palestine, cannot have received the sanction of Jewish Church authorities, we may assert that in the pre-Christian period the fully developed doctrine of the word 'Memra' was in Palestine confined to verbal tradition, which was taught only to a few chosen individuals, and which was excluded from the public schools. As this apocryphal tradition was not by authority committed to writing in the pre-Christian period, it follows as a matter of course that the apocryphal Scriptures of Alexandria never formed part of the Hebrew canon, and that in Palestine no Jew was permitted to read them. But although the text of Scriptures, as recognised in the time of Ezra, was faithfully preserved, through the efforts of the rigid Massoretic school, of which Ezra may be termed the founder; yet none of the principles of verbal tradition seem to have fallen into disrepute in the Holy Land. We shall see that the apocryphal principles of atonement, immortality, and universality, which originally were connected with the Divine Word, the first-born among all creatures, were during the captivity in Babylon connected with a servant of God. Thus, to the promise of a terrestrial and merely Jewish Messiah was added the promise of a heavenly, universal, and atoning Messiah. Such expectation of a Messiah-Son among some of the reformed Jews in Palestine, confounded as it may have been with that of the Messiah-King, had been confirmed, if not caused, by the visions contained in the book of Daniel; and it had been further developed in the book of Enoch. Although the book of Daniel was not recognised as a prophetic scripture, not having received the required confirmation

CHAP.
II.

The Word.

CHAP.
II.

and sanction of a later prophet, and though the book of Enoch never formed part of the Hebrew canon, yet the doctrine of the Divine Word or Spirit of God, thus applied to the Messiah, formed one of the principal doctrines of the guardians of secret tradition among the Jews in Palestine, during the time which immediately preceded the coming of Christ.

We shall later refer to the most ancient Chaldæan paraphrases called after Onkelos and Jonathan. They prove that all Divine manifestations in the world were attributed, not to Jehovah himself, the supermundane God, whom no man can see, but to the Divine Word or 'Memra,' which Onkelos substitutes for Jehovah in those parts of the sacred text where the distinction between Jehovah and the Word seemed necessary to him. The object clearly was, to prevent every attempt to humanise divinity. Consequently the Palestinian Jews altered or left out in their paraphrases those passages in sacred writ which to them seemed to endanger the unapproachable supermundane existence of Jehovah. The Divine Word or 'Memra' was identified with the Divine glory or 'Kabôd,' that is, with the luminary apparition which was regarded as the representative of Jehovah. The cloud was but a symbol of God's presence; and when the wandering of the Israelites had come to an end, it is stated that the cloud 'rested' on the ark of the covenant.

'Shechina.' Therefore the Divine glory was in course of time no more called Kabôd, but 'Shechina,' that is rest, presence, indwelling. The Divine Word, which had previously been conceived, as an outward and visible manifestation of the invisible presence of Jehovah, now was revealed as an invisible Divine essence, which, by being conferred to human individuals, imparts to them fulness and immortality, and thus delivered the first-formed Father and his descendants from their fall.

Whilst the Kabôd-doctrine implied the existence of a

great gulf between the creature and the Creator, which was bridged over by a luminary and absolutely super-human apparition ; the doctrine of the Shechina brought the creature into direct communication with the Creator. If the external apparition of the Divine Word symbolised the supermundane presence of God ; the invisible abiding of the Shechina in the holiest of the holy, as a type of the heart of man, symbolised the intermundane presence of the supermundane God. This change in the doctrine of the Divine Word cannot have been casual. It was a progressive revelation. Through whose agency this new revelation was made unto the Israelites cannot now be positively asserted. But it is a remarkable fact, that whatever is contained in the Avesta or 'original text' about the doctrine of the Divine Word, is opposed to the Kabôd-doctrine, and coincides with the Shechina-doctrine. The pre-Christian logos-doctrine of the Alexandrians, as contained in the Apocrypha of the Septuagint, and as more fully developed by Philo and his predecessors, contained elements which are at variance with the Honovar-doctrine as contained in the Avesta. In the latter the Word is the link between the infinite and the finite ; and this may be said also of the Word-doctrine in Ecclesiasticus, and in the book of Wisdom. But in these apocryphal books there is not the same clear distinction between the infinite and the finite, between the spiritual world and the material world. The cause of this may be partly found in the essential difference between the cosmogony of the Babylonians and that of the Egyptians. According to the former, the material world is merely a temporary appendix of the spiritual world, the latter only being of lasting duration. According to the latter, the earth is as eternal as any part of the universe. Hereby an eternal dualism is created between spirit and matter, these being co-ordinate and not subordinate. From this it follows that the infinite must be necessarily absorbed by the finite, and that there can be no spirit independent of matter, the latter being

CHAP.
II.

necessary to the manifestation of the former. If so, no mediator between the infinite and the finite is required or possible.

This fatal dualism, destroying the liberty of the Creator as well as that of the creature, adheres to all the doctrines of Plato. In the Platonic system,¹ it is not an individual Creator, but 'the idea,' which is the primary cause of all individual realities; and as such, the idea is the creative power or essence. It excludes individuality, and is opposed to the same. It exists neither as one or as more individuals, nor as a species, but independent and separate from them; the type of all being is the idea itself, from which it follows that the idea alone has an existence apart from matter. Now, the only absolutely non-material idea is the good, which idea is above all intelligences and above all essence; and at the same time it is unintelligible and inaccessible. According to Plato, God is not a supermundane person, a free Creator, but merely the idea of ideas, and therefore no more than the good in the world. It is through man that divinity becomes personal.

We have seen that, according to the doctrine of the reformed Aryans, all visible manifestations of the invisible God in the material world were considered but as types of the eternal living Creator of all things, and the source from which the spirit of sanctification and immortality proceeds. These views seem to have been accepted by the reformed Jews, and on their coming in contact with the East, to have been incorporated into the Mosaic writings. For sooner or later the necessity must have presented itself of so harmonising the written records with verbal tradition as to assimilate them with the exigencies of the present. Thus the reformed party among the Israelites, the Essenes and Pharisees, could hardly have acknowledged the Mosaic writings, unless the invisibility of God was expressed in the same. Con-

¹ Comp. Vacherot's 'l'Ecole d'Alexandrie.'

trariwise, the Sadducees would insist upon it, that God did speak to Moses 'face to face, as a man speaketh unto his friend,' and that he appeared to human eyes. This would naturally lead to a compromise, which may well have taken place on the return from Babylon. Ezra would add to the passages claimed by the Sadducees some others by which the views of the Pharisees were supported. And this assumption accounts for the incontrovertible and otherwise inexplicable fact, that whilst the majority of those passages in the Mosaic writings which refer to the manifestations of God show the latter to have been visible, yet that there are others which totally exclude such a notion, and which insist upon it, that God is one whom no mortal eye can see. Again, the famous controversy between Hillel and Shammai, and afterwards between their parties, as to whether heaven was created before the earth, or the earth before heaven, could never have taken place, if both had accepted the first verse in Genesis in the literal sense of the words transmitted to us. The Sadducees believed neither in heaven, nor in a Creator or Father in heaven.

The writers of the Septuagint do not seem to have been fettered by any Sadducean party, which even in Palestine formed a very inconsiderable minority; whilst Philo mentions neither the existence of Pharisees nor of Sadducees. For we find all those passages which refer to the invisibility of God faithfully rendered; whilst those which refer to visible manifestations of the Almighty are either left out or altered. We have already referred to some of the alterations and omissions of the Hebrew text in the Septuagint, and especially to the passage where it is stated that God spoke to Moses 'face to face.' Again, whilst according to the Hebrew text, 'Moses and Aaron, Nadab and Abihu, and seventy of the elders of Israel . . . saw the God of Israel,'¹ the Septuagint translates, that they 'saw the place where God was.' Again, in Numbers it is

CHAP.
II.

Reforma
tion of
Scripture.

¹ Exod. xxiv. 9-10.

CHAP.
II.

stated that the Lord made himself known unto prophets 'in a vision,' and spoke to them 'in a dream,' but that with Moses He spoke 'mouth to mouth, even apparently, and not in dark speeches,' and that he was made to behold 'the similitude' or 'figure of the Lord.'¹ In reproducing this passage, the Septuagint has it that God spoke to the prophets in a dream, and to Moses in visions. Again, according to the text of the Septuagint, God 'repented' *not* that He had created man, an idea which was considered far too human; instead of this it is written, that the fall occasioned God's 'meditations.' And in order to counteract the belief that Jehovah was actually present in the holiest of the holy, the Greek translators of the first book of Kings, when narrating the consecration of the temple by Solomon, add that God said to him, 'Build me a temple in which a king as thyself may tarry to worship me.'²

Eastern
and
Western
Philo-
sophy.

Although with regard to the invisibility of God, Western philosophy agreed with Oriental philosophy, yet the ideas about God were essentially different in either. The supernatural element forms an essential characteristic of the Zoroastrian idea about the Creator, whilst all Greek philosophers deny the supernatural, they know a world-pervading divinity, and above that, if anything, merely an idea. From this it follows, that through the influence of western philosophy, the apocryphal tradition about the Divine Word may have been modified in course of time in Alexandria. We shall see that in developing this doctrine, Philo is under the influence at once of Oriental tradition and of Greek science, and that he cannot harmonise the one with the other. But the general harmony between the apocryphal tradition in Alexandria, and the secret tradition in Palestine, as far as we know the latter, enables us to assert that both originated from a common source.

If the suggestion be admitted that the Jehovistic ac-

¹ xii. 6-8.

² Comp. 1 Kings viii. 12, 27 f.

count about the sons of Adam, taken in a figurative sense, refers to a migration of a branch of the Aryan family in Central Asia to the Indus, that is, if it refers to the exodus of which we know that it took place in the time of Zoroaster, and partly in consequence of his religious and social reform, then it would be difficult not somewhat to connect the Jehovistic account of the fall with the time of this Aryan reformer, and with then prevailing influences and ideas. If taken in a figurative sense, it would be easy to see in 'the tree of knowledge' a hidden reference to a secret doctrine, the full promulgation of which was forbidden. The Semitic writer would know that the forbidden or apocryphal knowledge or gnosis of the Israelites had received its earliest expression, if not its origin, in 'the secret doctrine' contained in 'the writings of Zoroaster,' which are for this reason called apocryphal or hidden books by Clement of Alexandria.¹ In order to suggest to the initiated the necessity of maintaining the secrecy of this doctrine, and of its origin, the Semitic writer would be led to show that in the beginning man fell by partaking of a forbidden knowledge at the suggestion of an evil influence. The latter is by him represented by a serpent. Now, in the most ancient historical times, the Egyptians are known to have regarded the serpent as the symbol of the infinite. A memorial of this aboriginal interpretation of the serpent in Egypt has been transmitted to us in the 'Uræus,' the double serpent, represented as an asp, a species of the *Cobra capella*. It is to be seen by the side of the solar disc in front of the temples, and on the mitre of the Pharaohs. In later times, but *already in the time of Moses*, the serpent representing the good was opposed by a serpent 'Apap,' typifying the evil. Apap became the enemy of Osiris and Set, and, at a still later period, Set, that is, Typhon, was regarded as the embodiment and originator of evil. Already, in 'the book of the dead,' the serpent

Serpent-
worship.¹ Strom. iv. 15.

CHAP
II.

Apap is represented as the persecutor and tempter ; and yet the worship of the good serpent continued. Herodotus¹ speaks of the serpent-worship at Thebais ; and the serpent is on some monuments represented in the hands of the beneficent Isis, the Mother of Nature, and as having the head of what may be one of the Egyptian divinities.²

‘ It is a remarkable fact that we now possess documentary evidence how the Typhon of the Greeks, for that is Set according to inscriptions, was up to the thirteenth century before Christ a great and universally-worshipped God of the entire Egypt, who distributes to the rulers of the eighteenth and the nineteenth dynasty the insignia of life and might. The most glorious ruler of the latter dynasty, Sethos, has his name from him. Then, however, in the course of the twentieth dynasty, he is suddenly treated as an evil demon, and his image and name is annihilated on all monuments and inscriptions that could be reached. The well-known myth of Typhon, which Plutarch relates with all details in his learned book of Osiris and Isis, represents, therefore, a truth only for the later time. In the days of Moses, Set ruled in all his glory. One might think that the cause of this deposition had been the bloody inroad of the Shemitic worshippers of Set, who, contemporaneously with the exodus of the Israelites to Arabia (1320), took possession of the land, and remained there during thirteen years. The monuments do not, however, confirm this, as has been proved in another place. But the Egyptian myth of Typhon knew that Set had fled with the enemies of Egypt, riding on a gray ass (the aboriginal symbol of Set in Egypt), and resting every seventh day, and that later he had begotten two sons, Palæstinus and Judæus. The change of the conception of this begetting God from a mighty

¹ ii. 74.

² The egg of the serpent typifies the universe on some of the monuments of Egypt.

bringer of blessings into a hostile destroyer appears, therefore, to have been effected not before the Assyrian conquest. Set was the god of the Shemitic people of Asia. Since Set is intimately connected with Osiris as his brother, it cannot be doubted that the latter also was already, in the time of Menes, an object of aboriginal adoration. As a Shemitic god he is represented towards 1380 by the monumentary inscriptions from the campaigns of Ramses the Great. But everywhere with the Shemitic races he appears as the background of their consciousness of God. Thus we also find him in the traditions, which have lately been rendered intelligible, . . . of the Nabathæans, the descendants of the ancient Chaldæans.' ¹

It has been conjectured² that the Egyptians in the earliest historical times believed in the existence of four uncreated beings: Spirit, Matter, Time, and Space. They seem to have been conceived as living in the outer circle of the universe, which as a whole was typified by the sun. The serpent biting its tail represented the dwelling-place of the aboriginal gods, and probably also the 'good' god 'Amun-Kneph' himself, who was as such also called 'Hornophre,' or 'the Good God,' the 'Agathodemon' of the Greeks. It is not improbable that Amun-Kneph was conceived as the aboriginal spirit, as the first among the four uncreated deities. Now, among all the writings attributed to Moses, it is only in the third chapter of Genesis that the serpent is designated as the symbol of evil. And this is all the more remarkable, since the brazen serpent lifted up by Moses in the wilderness is represented as a symbol of healing divinity, and opposed to

¹ Bunsen's 'Gott in der Geschichte,' ii. 34-36. If the account about Seth, like that about Cain and Abel, be figuratively interpreted, it would refer to the time of Sethos, king of Egypt, during whose reign the principles of Aryan reform may have been first introduced, and when children were raised unto 'Adam' in that country. It was during the time of Enos, son of Seth, that men began to call upon the name of Jehovah (Gen. iv. 26).

² Röth, 'Abendländische Philosophie.'

CHAP.
II.

the evil serpents who spread death in the Israelitic camp. Even in later times a superstitious worship was paid to the brazen serpent itself by the Israelites.¹

Such animal worship was prevalent not only in Egypt, but also among the Aryans. Even Zoroaster did not succeed to put an end to it entirely. Striving to do so, he changed the symbols of good into symbols of evil. Thus the name 'Devas' referred originally to the gods, and it is known that the Greek word 'Zeus' and the Latin 'Deus' are derived from this name. Yet Zoroaster applies the name of Devas to evil spirits only, and thus he seems, by his religious reform, to have caused the serpent to be regarded as the symbol of evil. His reason for this change may have been that the serpent had ceased to be looked upon as a mere *type* of good, and was worshipped as an absolute divinity in itself.² If, then, we may assume that Zoroaster was the original cause of this reform, and if the Jewish national faith had been during the captivity reformed accordingly, accepting the serpent as the symbol of evil, then Ezra, or an Israelite of an earlier date, would see the necessity of introducing the serpent as the principle of evil in the Jehovistic account of the aboriginal fall.

Origin of
Jehovistic
account.

Without going so far as to press the suggestion that the name Jehovah may have been introduced into some of the Mosaic writings after the return from the captivity, when Ezra arranged the text of the law and the prophets, we would ask whether some of the Jehovistic accounts in the Pentateuch may not have been altered or added at this time? It has been forcibly suggested that those parts of the writings attributed to Moses which are not due to the Elohist were probably not written before the time of David; whilst some interpolations in the first four books of the Pentateuch may be safely attributed to the

¹ 2 Kings xviii. 4.

² Abraham, 'the Zoroaster of the Shemites,' may have been the first to introduce among the Chamites the new principle, according to which the serpent was a type of evil.

author of Deuteronomy. If it has been fairly established ¹ that the book of Deuteronomy was written about the time of Josiah, it cannot be denied that already at this time some of the learned Israelites, though not the Hebrew nation as a whole, had free and frequent intercourse with the Chaldæans, and thus with the guardians of apocryphal traditions, which may have originally been derived from the Aryans; and it may have been owing to the spread of apocryphal principles that the necessity arose to compose 'another' law, that is the book of Deuteronomy. In like manner the Zend-law, or the oral tradition, was added, as we have suggested, to the Avesta, or the original text of 'the holy word' of the ancient Aryans. It might be rendered probable that the book of Deuteronomy, as well as the latest alterations and additions in other parts of the Pentateuch, owed their origin to the necessity of interpreting the written law by the unwritten or secret tradition.

Without entering into all the details of this question, we would point out that the second or Jehovistic account of creation,² and the story of the fall,³ may be shown to have been written by one who was well versed with the principles of oral tradition. In the 'Bundehesh,' or literally, 'the aboriginal creation,' that is in one of the later Scriptures of the Chaldæans, the following description is contained of the seven days of creation, which account we will compare with that which we find recorded in Genesis :

	BOOK OF GENESIS.	BUNDEHESH.
Creator :	'The Spirit of God.'	The uncreated light.
1st Day	Division of light from darkness.	Heaven with its lights.
2nd "	Firmament divides the waters.	Water.
3rd "	Earth with grass and herbs.	Earth.
4th "	Lights in the firmament.	Plants.
5th "	Animals.	Animals.
6th "	Man.	Man.

These two accounts are just as remarkable because of the points which they have in common, as because of those in which they differ. The difference is caused by the

¹ See Colenso's Pentateuch, vol. iii.

² Gen. ii. 4-25.

³ iii.

CHAP.
II.

different notions about the Creator, and about the relations between heaven and earth. According to the Aryans the uncreated light was conceived as the Creator, who lives in his self-chosen place, and who first created the spiritual and enduring world above, before he created the corporeal and non-enduring world below. Accordingly we find that heaven, with its lights, were created on the first day. And although the same notion may possibly be implied in the first verse of Genesis with regard to the previous creation of heaven, yet the light is not identified with God, but created by him on the first day; whilst on the second day 'a firmament' is created, to divide the waters 'under the firmament from the waters which were above the firmament.' This firmament, created on the *second* day, God called 'heaven.' It was not created until the uncreated or previously created waters had been divided. This is all the more significant since some of these waters, those which after the creation of the firmament were under the same, covered and rendered invisible the land, which latter on the third day was made to 'appear' by the gathering together of the lower waters. If therefore nothing is said about the creation of the waters, no more is there anything said about the direct and absolute creation of the land. The latter account of creation, therefore, seems to imply that the land, covered by the waters, eternally existed.¹ For it is not possible to assume that the first verse of Genesis may refer to the aboriginal creation of heaven and earth, and that the six days' creation is a subsequent reconstruction of either. It is stated that 'the Spirit of God moved upon, or "brooded over," the face of the waters,' which waters existed *before* the creation of heaven; and *out* of these waters all 'fowls that fly' were made according to the Elohistic account in Genesis.² This view about the

¹ We have seen that in accordance with this and with Plato's view the Septuagint translates that the earth was 'invisible and without form,' instead of waste and void, which latter expression does not, however, exclude the eternity of matter.

² i. 20.

relations between heaven and earth coincides with the cosmogony of the Egyptians and of the Greeks, but not with that of the Aryans. And accordingly we find that in the Jehovistic, or, as we try to show, in the reformed account of Genesis, 'the whole face' of the created earth had to be 'watered,' having been dry; and this watering was caused by God, who made the rain to fall upon the earth. The earth was therefore not covered or hidden by the waters, before it was commanded to appear by the removal of the latter, but rain was sent from above upon the dry land. Out of this divinely-created dry land, and not out of the waters, 'the fowls of the air' were created, according to the Jehovistic account,¹ which entirely corresponds with the record of the six days' creation contained in the 'Bundehesh.' For here the waters are created on the second day, and the earth on the third.

Again, according to the Avesta, the earth has been created in consequence of a fall in the spiritual world, and as the prison-house for the fallen spirits who, like the good spirits, becoming incarnate, fight the battle between good and evil in the selfsame fleshly tenements, in the human bodies. Man is, therefore, the first of the living beings created on earth. And this is what is stated in the Jehovistic account of Genesis, in contradistinction to the Elohistie or first account, where birds and beasts are created before man.² Man was formed 'of the dust of the ground,' whilst 'the breath of life' was 'breathed' into him, so that he became 'a living soul.' The words 'living soul' may be taken to refer to the immortality of the soul, that is, to the apocryphal doctrine which was opposed by the belief of the Sadducees that the soul dies with the body. 'Through the holiest spirit' God has given to man 'fulness and immortality,' according to the Avesta; God has 'breathed' into man 'a living spirit,' He has 'borrowed His own spirit,' and fashioned men, according to the Apocrypha;³ and through

¹ Gen. ii. 19.

² i. 20, 24, 26; comp. ii. 7, 19.

³ Wis. xv. 11, 16.

CHAP.
II.

the breath of God, 'the breath of life' and 'a living soul' were imparted to man, according to the account in Genesis.

If we compare the first account of Genesis about the creation of man with the second which we have just considered, we shall find that the former is very incomplete without the latter, and that it seems to imply a different conception of the relations between the Creator and his creatures. The introductory words 'Let *us* make man in *our* image' have been explained by the assumption that God addresses the angels, or some of them, and that having identified himself with these created beings, he calls upon them to co-operate with him in the creation of man in the image alike of the Creator and of his creatures, although he is finally declared to have been created 'in the image of God' alone. Even if the above, the only possible, explanation be accepted, it must be allowed that in this part of the Elohist account, as in the rest, God is not represented as a creator in the fullest sense of the word, inasmuch as other beings, who are *like him*, participate in the creation of man. And this is what we should expect the writer to state, since he knows no other name for God than 'Elohim' or 'Gods.'

The name 'Elohim' entirely corresponds with the Egyptian idea of four uncreated gods, Spirit, Matter, Time, and Space, which probably formed a Divine unity, symbolically represented by the serpent. Of these the first, the aboriginal spirit, was called, as we have seen, 'the good God,' and as such must have been regarded as the God above all other gods. For sometimes 'Elohim' is preceded by the article, and then 'ha-Elohim' evidently means 'the God of Gods' or Lord of Lords. Moreover, the inscription in front of the temple of Isis at Sais, transmitted by Plutarch, seems actually to be a transcription of the name Jehovah: '*I am* all that hath been, that is, and that shall be.' It would be difficult to apply this to any other of the aboriginal gods than to the Spirit; for it cannot well apply to matter or space, whilst

time was the destroying god. What then more natural for a believer in more than one uncreated god, than to attribute the principal part in the creation to 'the good God,' that is, to the God the Spirit! And this is what he does, when he writes, that although in the beginning 'the Gods' created heaven and earth, yet that 'the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters.' The other gods co-operated in the creation of heaven and earth, and so did they in the creation of man. How should the writer, being a descendant of the patriarchs, have known the name of Jehovah, since by this name God was 'not known' either to Abraham, or to Isaac, or to Jacob?¹

Finally, it well accords with the peculiar views about the relations between the creature and the Creator, as contained in the two accounts of creation, and especially with the different ideas about the relations between heaven and earth, that according to the Elohist, man, the lord of the whole earth, is established there for the purpose of replenishing and subduing the earth, as if this were his final destiny. On the other hand, the Jehovist relates that man was placed merely in the garden of Eden (the 'Heden' of the Avesta), for the purpose of labouring and keeping off the evil, thus implying that the earth is but his temporary abode, and that his life on earth is a time of probation and a fight between the good and the evil.

The similarity of the Jehovistic account of the fall and of the flood with the records contained in the Avesta, to which we have referred, may also justify the supposition that these accounts were at least re-formed by Ezra, or by some one who lived before him, and who had come in contact with Aryan traditions. Under all circumstances it must be admitted that Ezra was not a reformer at all. All he did was to settle the Hebrew canon, and in doing so he had to consider the great reformation, which, as we are trying to establish, had

¹ Ex. vi. 3.

CHAP.
II.

been effected among the Israelites in Babylon, and the principles of which were mainly opposed by the not numerous sect of the Sadducees. As however, these were rich, influential, and anti-national, and with the object in view of keeping together all conflicting parties, Ezra may have been obliged so to combine the written tradition with the verbal tradition as not to offend the Conservative party of the Sadducees. It well harmonises with this view that, according to the Babylonian Talmud, the Chaldæan translation and interpretation of Scripture, the 'targum,' was begun in the time of Ezra.

Adam and
Eve.

By assuming that the Jehovistic account about Adam and Eve and their children was composed in the form we possess it about the time of the Babylonian captivity, the probability which we have tried to establish is strengthened, that the Adam of the Bible is the Zoroaster of history. If so, Eve cannot possibly refer to the wife of the Aryan reformer. We would suggest, that the allegorist has by his account about Adam and Eve intended to refer to that new era when man was in a higher sense of the word created in, or rather to the image of God, by the Divine Spirit being more fully imparted to him. It was thus that he knew good and evil; for he was made wise by partaking of the tree of knowledge, which though it was a forbidden tree, yet brought him near to the tree of life, that is to immortality. By being allied to this Divine Wisdom man had become immortal, for in the language of the Apocrypha: 'to be allied unto wisdom is immortality,'¹ and wisdom is '*the mother*' of 'all good things.'² It is the alliance between man and wisdom which is typified by the allegory about Adam and Eve. And this view is somewhat confirmed by the fact, that in the targum called after Onkelos, Eve is called '*Chavah*' as 'the mother of all sons of man,' instead of 'the mother of all living (Chaj). Now '*Chivja*' is the Chaldee form for animal, and the same word is used in the Talmud and Midrash

¹ Wis. viii. 17.

² Wis. vii. 12.

for serpent, as it is in the Syriac and the Arabic plural forms. In the Midrash we find the following passage :¹— ‘As *Chava* (Eve) was a Chivja (serpent) to Adam, and caused his perdition, so the serpent (Chivja) was to be her (Eve’s) and her children’s perdition.’² And in the Septuagint Eve is sometimes called ‘life.’ We have seen that the serpent was originally the symbol of good, especially of healing, and that in Egypt it represented probably the Divine Spirit. We have pointed out that, according to apocryphal doctrine, the Divine Spirit, Wisdom, or Word are identical expressions, and we shall prove that the serpent lifted up by Moses in the wilderness in the Apocrypha is interpreted to have been a type of the Divine Word, ‘the healer of all.’ Again, we have observed, that it is only in the account of the fall that the serpent is introduced as an evil principle. To the guardians of secret tradition, under whose influence this account may have been written in the form we possess it, the partaking of the fruit of knowledge would naturally present itself as an evil. For that knowledge they knew to be the source of their secret tradition, and they preferred to keep the key of knowledge in their own hands.

Further arguments can be adduced from the Chaldaean paraphrases of Genesis in support of our suggestion, that according to the standard of interpretation adopted in the targums, the creation of Adam and Eve refers not to the creation of man’s natural body, but to the creation of his spiritual body. Whilst we read in the authorised version : ‘Unto Adam also and to his wife did the Lord God make coats of skins, and clothed them ;’³ it is written in Onkelos : ‘And Jehovah Elohim made unto Adam and his wife *garments of glory*, on the skin of their flesh, and clothed them.’ And in the second recension of the targum Jerushalmi, these garments of glory are called ‘garments of honour from the skin of the

¹ This passage has been pointed out to us by Mr. Deutsch.

² Ber. R. 24

³ Gen. iii. 21.

CHAP.
II.

serpent, which God had cast out, 'on the skin of their flesh, instead of their beauty which they had cast off; and he clothed them.' Here we may also remark, that according to the apocryphal book called Jesus Sirach, or Ecclesiasticus, God put upon Moses 'a robe of glory.'¹ If the serpent is taken to be the type of Divine Wisdom, as it is in the Apocrypha, then the hidden meaning of the above interpretation is clear. God clothed man with garments of glory or wisdom. This had become necessary, because man had not obeyed the voice of God, that is the inward monitor which God had breathed into the nostrils of man. The consequence of this fall was, that the heart of man ceased to be the paradise of God, the holiest of the holy, where God met with man and communed with him. The time had not yet come when the fruit of the tree of knowledge could be eaten; the time of figs was not yet; the ground was not yet prepared for the seed of the Divine Word. For a time man must be cast out from the presence of the Lord, and his access to the tree of knowledge, and thus to the tree of life, must be prevented. But the Divine Word was always nigh to man, in order to save him from his fall, and in the fulness of time it became flesh and opened the paradise of God, the tabernacle of the soul, the kingdom of heaven, to all believers.

The account in Genesis about Adam and Eve refers, therefore, to a spiritual regeneration of mankind. God clothed man with His glory, spirit, wisdom, or word; that is, by breathing into him the fulness of His power He created him to His own image, and thus man became a living soul. That the Aryan reformer whom we call Zoroaster was the means of sowing the seed of this regenerating word, is evident from the extracts we have adduced from the most ancient parts of 'the original text' called the Avesta. The indwelling or inborn primordial Spirit or Word, which was in the beginning 'with'

¹ Eccl. xlv. 3-8.

the Father, the living Creator of all, went forth from God, and as the divinely-wrought good mind or spirit in man, leads the same to purity in 'thought, word, and deed.' And thus 'the best operating spirit' prepares man for his translation from the earth's prisonhouse to the thrones of the living God and of his angels.

'The first man' with whom God conversed was not Zoroaster, but this reformer of the Indo-germanic ancestors was the first who obeyed the voice of God, and proclaimed the law revealed to him. He allied himself to Wisdom, the immortal 'Mother' of 'all good things.' But his people, typified by his two first-born sons, did not all choose the better part. There was among them a reformed or spiritual party, typified by 'Abel,' that is, vapour or 'spirit;' and there was a conservative and carnally-minded party, represented by the elder brother 'Cain,' that is, he who 'acquires.' This latter party actually did emigrate from 'Heden' to 'Nod;' that is, from Central Asia to the banks of the Indus, where it *acquired* great possessions, and eventually formed a kingdom under native princes. Whilst this party continued to worship many gods, in consequence of which God had no respect unto the same and unto its offering, the party of the reformed Aryans worshipped the One living Creator, the Father in heaven, who respected and accepted these persons and their offerings. It is but a natural development of these doctrines about the reign of the Spirit of God in the heart of man, that the latter was regarded as the Paradise of God, where sinful man hears the voice of God, and thus communes with his Creator and Father in heaven.

In addition to the principles of the oneness and invisibility of God, and to the doctrine about the Divine Word, the first-born of all creatures, we find among those of the pre-Christian Apocrypha in Egypt, the following.

Angels and Spirits.—Angels are principally referred to in the later apocryphal writings of the pre-Christian period. They are finite beings, inhabiting the spiritual world, and

CHAP.
II.

appear in a human shape; so also do the evil spirits. Even the hosts of good angels 'stand trembling' before God's throne.¹ 'The Angel of God' in the Apocrypha seems to have an identical mission with 'the Angel of Jehova' in the Hebrew canon; where he represents God himself, or rather the Spirit of God, since it is written, 'my name is in him.'² Seven holy angels are distinguished from the rest;³ the Angel of the Lord may have been regarded as one of them, or as above them. These doctrines are similar to those contained in the Avesta, and it is not improbable that the seven archangels or amshaspands named in the latter may have originated the distinction of the seven angels in the Apocrypha. According to the Avesta, every human being has his own guardian spirit; and even in the Apocrypha the belief in the guardianship of angels is recorded.⁴ Now, it cannot be asserted that Ezra has inserted into the Pentateuch the few passages which refer to angels, and that the Israelites did not believe in the existence of angels previous to the time of the Babylonian captivity. But it is a fact, that after that eventful period this doctrine has been more fully developed. Again, we know that the Pharisees, and more so still the Essenes, believed in angels and spirits, whilst the Sadducees denied either.⁵ This they could not have done if either of these doctrines were supported by the books attributed to Moses, which formed, in their original form, the sole standard of Sadducean faith. We may therefore conclude, that even with regard to the doctrine of angels, the apocryphal tradition coincided with the tradition of the Essenes and the Pharisees, whether the same did or did not originate during the Babylonian captivity.

Another doctrine which may be regarded as peculiar to apocryphal writings is:

The Universality of God's Saving Love.—'Thou hast

¹ 2 Esd. viii. 21.

² Ex. xxiii. 21.

³ Tob. xii. 15.

⁴ Tob. v. 16, 21, &c.

⁵ Acts xxiii. 8.

mercy upon all, . . . and abhorrest nothing which Thou hast made ; Thou sparest all, for they are thine, O Lord, thou lover of souls. For Thine incorruptible Spirit is in all things ; therefore chastenest Thou by little and little them that offend, and warnest them by putting them in remembrance wherein they have offended ; that leaving their wickedness they may believe on Thee, O Lord.' ¹ 'Wisdom hath built an everlasting foundation with men, and she shall continue with their seed.' ² Although Israel is God's 'first-born,' yet 'the mercy of the Lord is upon all flesh ; He reproveth and nurtureth, and teacheth, and bringeth again, as a shepherd his flock.' ³ He poureth out his firstcreated Wisdom, Word, or Spirit 'upon all His works. . . . She is with all flesh according to His gift' or 'grace.' ⁴ The child of Israel in the former land of bondage therefore is led to exclaim, 'Have mercy upon us, O Lord God of all, and behold us, and send Thy fear upon all the nations that seek not after Thee. Lift up Thy hand against the strange nations, and let them see Thy power. As Thou wast sanctified in us before them, so be Thou magnified among them before us. And let them know Thee as we have known Thee, that there is no God, but only Thou, O God.' ⁵

Although we do not know what were the precise opinions of the Essenes and Pharisees in this respect, yet we may safely conjecture that the Sadducees rejected such a doctrine, of which no trace can be discovered in the writings attributed to Moses. On the other hand, the Pharisees, and still more the Essenes, as believers in the resurrection, in angels and spirits, must necessarily have believed in the doctrine of God's universal saving love. For neither was the resurrection regarded by them as a privilege of the Israelites exclusively, nor do we know that they regarded the angels as the spirits of Israelitic saints. Here again, the identity of apocryphal and of

¹ Wis. xi. 23-26 ; xii. 1-2.² Eccl. i. 15.³ Eccl. xviii. 13.⁴ Eccl. i. 8-10.⁵ Eccl. xxxvi. 1-5.

CHAP.
II.

Pharisaical tradition is more than probable, whilst the absence of the above doctrine in the Hebrew Scriptures, written before the captivity, leads us to the supposition that in its fuller development at least it may have been inculcated to the Israelites through the instrumentality of the Chaldæans, as the guardians of Aryan traditions.

One of the most important of apocryphal doctrines is that of

Righteousness by the Grace of God.—True righteousness presupposes the regeneration of the heart through the Divine Word. In all ages has the same been poured on all flesh according to God's 'grace,' for the purpose of renewing the heart of fallen man. Nothing else is required of him than that he shall be 'obedient' to the grace of God, and put his 'trust' in God. Then he will be preserved by 'the Word of God,'¹ which 'brought the firstformed Father out of his fall,'² through which 'great power from the beginning' God has 'wrought great glory' by the Fathers of Israel, and He 'poureth forth His mercy' on all flesh. This Divine Word, or Wisdom, poured forth according to Divine Grace on the sons of men, 'can do all things;' she makes 'all things new, and in all ages entering into holy souls she maketh them friends of God and prophets.'³ This great power of God 'is the beginning of righteousness;'⁴ for righteousness is the result of the Divine operation of the Word and of human obedience. 'The Lord only is righteous, and there is none other;'⁵ and because He is righteous Himself, He orders 'all things with righteousness.'⁶ Therefore, 'to know Thee is perfect righteousness.'⁷ Man must 'follow righteousness' in order that he may 'obtain her;'⁸ he must 'lie in wait' for her,⁹ and she will direct his course.¹⁰ The 'ungodly' alone 'perish,' whilst the righteous are delivered.¹¹ 'For

¹ Wis. xvi. 24-26.² x. 1.³ vii. 25-27,⁴ Wis. xii. 16.⁵ Eccl. xviii. 2.⁶ Wis. xii. 15; ix. 3.⁷ xv. 3.⁸ Eccl. xxvii. 8.⁹ Wis. ii. 12. ¹⁰ x. iv.¹¹ x. 6.

righteousness is not subjected to death ; but the ungodly, with their works and words, called the same (death) to them ; they consider him their friend, and they consume to naught (in their longing after him) ; they make a covenant with him, because they are worthy to belong to the same.¹ Therefore, ‘to be allied unto wisdom is immortality ;’² to know the power of God is ‘the root of immortality,’ is ‘*perfect righteousness*.’³ By wisdom men are taught the things that are pleasing unto God ;⁴ that is the righteousness which comes from God. ‘*If a man love righteousness, her deeds are virtues* ;’⁵ for the Grace, Word, Wisdom, or Spirit of God, which produces righteousness, is ‘ready to do good . . . in all spirits of understanding ;’ she has ‘in her an understanding spirit, holy, only begotten.’⁶ By the Grace of God, ‘the light of righteousness’ shall ‘shine’ on man, ‘the sun of righteousness’ shall rise upon them ;⁷ ‘he shall put on righteousness as a breastplate,’⁸ and hope for ‘the wages of righteousness ;’ it is thus that man is to be ‘*made perfect*.’⁹

Of this apocryphal doctrine it suffices to say that though not actually taught by the Zendavesta, the principles contained in this book on the Divine Spirit, through which God has given to man ‘life and immortality,’ would necessarily lead the reformed Jew in Babylon to remodel the doctrine of righteousness, in accordance with this more perfect knowledge.

Another apocryphal doctrine which characterises the Jewish reform in Babylon is the one referring to

Atonement through Righteousness.—‘To forsake unrighteousness is a propitiation.’¹⁰ ‘The souls of the righteous,’ God has proved, found worthy of Himself, and received as ‘a burnt offering.’¹¹ ‘He that keepeth the law brings offerings enough.’¹² ‘Whoso honoureth his father,

¹ Wis. i. 16.

² viii. 13, 17.

³ xv. 2-3.

⁴ ix. 10.

⁵ viii. 7.

⁶ vii. 22.

⁷ v. 6.

⁸ v. 18.

⁹ iv. 7-13.

¹⁰ Eccl. xxxv. 3.

¹¹ Wis. iii. 6.

¹² Eccl. xxxv. 1.

CHAP
II.

maketh an atonement for his (own) sins,' and 'alms maketh an atonement for sins.'¹ 'Behold, the innocent and righteous blood crieth unto me, and the souls of the just complain continually.'² 'The offering of the righteous maketh the altar fat.'³ 'Concerning propitiation be not without fear to add sin unto sin; and say not, His mercy is great, He will be pacified for the multitude of my sins;⁴ He is not 'pacified for sin by sacrifices.'⁵ The righteous, such as Elijah, were 'ordained . . . to pacify the wrath of the Lord's judgment.'⁶ To forsake sin is to 'return to the Lord';⁷ 'in the time of sins show repentance';⁸ 'My son, hast thou sinned, do so no more, but ask pardon for thy former sins';⁹ 'forgive, so shall thy sins also be forgiven when thou prayest';¹⁰ 'Thou winkest at the sins of men, because they should amend';¹¹ 'Thou givest repentance for sin';¹² 'the fear of the Lord driveth away sin.'¹³

These extracts from apocryphal writings suffice to show that, according to apocryphal tradition, the Divine Wisdom, Word, Grace, or Spirit of God has in all ages perfected men unto true righteousness, and thus has led righteous men to atone for sin by their more or less complete offering and propitiation, which was well pleasing to God. According to apocryphal as well as to Aryan tradition, it is the Divine Word which atones and takes away the sins of the world in all ages.

Injunction to Pray.—It is very remarkable that no such injunction is recorded in any of the writings ascribed to Moses. Only in seven passages in the Pentateuch is prayer referred to, but in no single instance as a command that the people should pray. Abimelech, 'the prophet,' is to pray for Abraham, and Abraham the friend of God prays

¹ In Ecclesiasticus righteousness is still connected with the keeping of the law. Eccl. iii. 3, 30.

² 2 Esd. xv. 8.

³ Eccl. xxxv. 6.

⁴ v. 5-6.

⁵ xxxiv. 19.

⁶ xlviii. 10.

⁷ xvii. 25.

⁸ xviii. 21.

⁹ xxi. 1.

¹⁰ xxviii. 2.

¹¹ Wis. xi. 23.

¹² xii. 19.

¹³ Eccl. i. 21.

for Abimelech.¹ Isaac went forth to meditate, or rather to 'pray,' at eventide in the field.² Again, 'when Moses prayed unto the Lord,' the fire in the camp was quenched;³ and Moses prayed for the people,⁴ and for Aaron.⁵ In the Apocrypha the injunction to pray is frequently and impressively recorded as a primary duty. Private prayer and public prayer, by the individual and by the whole people, is to be raised unto the Most High, who will hear, and give Wisdom to those that ask it.⁶ The necessity of prayer was, therefore, a doctrine of the Hidden Wisdom among the Shemitic, though not among the Japhetic races. It is probable that Moses was prevented from urging the Israelites to pray, not only by their idolatrous practices, but chiefly by the hardness of their heart, which would have made the prayer of none effect.

CHAP.
II.

PALESTINIAN APOCRYPHA.

The first book we have here to mention is the *Book of Proverbs*.⁷ Whether or not its original title was 'Book of Wisdom,' the contents of 'the Proverbs of Solomon' were, from the earliest times of the Christian Church, quoted as 'Wisdom comprehending every virtue.' And the manner in which this statement is by Eusebius connected with 'the unwritten tradition of the Jews,'⁸ in the outset, favours the opinion that it was at least in its original form one of the earliest written exponents of the verbal tradition among the Jews. This view is confirmed, in the first place, by the meaning of the Hebrew title. Whilst it is rendered 'by-word,' 'parable,' 'proverb,' it 'expresses all, and even more, than is conveyed by these

Book of
Proverbs.

¹ Gen. xx. 7, 17.

² Gen. xxiv. 63.

³ Num. xi. 2.

⁴ Num. xxi. 7; Deut. ix. 26.

⁵ Deut. ix. 20.

⁶ Wis. xvi. 28; vii. 7; Eccl. iv. 6; vii. 10; xxi. 5; xxxvi. 17; xxxvii. 15; xxxix. 5, 6; l. 19; li. 13; &c.

⁷ See Westmacott's article in Smith's Dictionary, from which the beginning of the following extract has been made; see also Gfrörer's 'Urchristenthum,' I. ii. 18.

⁸ H. E. iv. 22.

CHAP.
II.

its English representatives. It is derived from a root *mâshal*, 'to be like,' and the primary idea involved in it is that of likeness, comparison. . . Probably all proverbial sayings were at first of the nature of similes, but the term *mâshal* soon acquired a more extended significance. It was applied to denote such short pointed sayings as do not involve a comparison directly, but still convey their meaning by the help of a figure. From this stage of its application it passed to that of sententious maxims generally, many of which, however, still involve a comparison. . . Next we find it used of those longer pieces in which a single idea is no longer exhausted in a sentence, but forms the germ of the whole, and is worked out into a didactic poem. But the book of Proverbs, according to the introductory verses which describe its character, contains, besides several varieties of the *mâshal*, sententious sayings of other kinds. . . The first of these is the *chîdâh*, rendered 'dark saying,' 'hard question,' 'riddle,' and 'proverb.' The word seems to denote a knotty intricate (obscure) saying, the solution of which demanded experience and skill. In addition, there was the *mêlîtsâh*, 'the interpretation.'

The canonicity of the book appears to have been attacked by the school of Shammai, because of its contradictions; but the Talmud recognises it, and its canonicity is confirmed by frequent quotations from, or references to, the same in the New Testament. Its Salomonian origin, as regards parts of the book, is not improbable, but the various dates of the other of its component parts cannot be ascertained.

The Divine 'Wisdom' is in the Proverbs clearly identified with the Spirit of God; it dwells with God and with man. She was in the beginning 'by' God, 'as one brought up with him;' she was 'daily his delight, rejoicing always before him,' and also 'rejoicing in the habitable part of his earth;' and her 'delights were with the sons of men.' It is the Lord from whom Wisdom pro-

ceeds.¹ 'The Lord giveth wisdom: out of His mouth cometh knowledge and understanding.'² God possessed her 'in the beginning of His way, before His works of old ;'³ or in the words of Genesis : 'The Spirit of God moved (was brooding) upon the face of the waters' (or above the same).⁴ The identity of the Divine Wisdom and the Divine Spirit in the book of Proverbs is evident ; inasmuch as nowhere the latter as such is mentioned, and as all the attributes of the same have been conferred to the former. In harmony with the apocryphal doctrine about the Divine Spirit, Wisdom, or Word, it is written about Wisdom : 'She is a tree of life to them that lay hold upon her, and happy is every one that retaineth her.'⁵ Again, 'the fruit of the righteous is a tree of life, and he that winneth souls is wise.'⁶ We have already referred to the allegorical interpretation of the tree of life, and we shall later show that the same is fully confirmed by the writer of the epistle to Diognetus, where the heart of man is also designated as the Paradise of God, containing the tree of life. But the probably most ancient, though indirect reference to such an interpretation, is contained in the account of the doctrines of the Therapeuts, who taught, as we have seen, a spiritual birth, which consisted in the union between a God-loving soul and wisdom.

We have now to consider the apocryphal book, entitled 'the book of Enoch,'⁷ from which a direct or indirect quotation is contained in the epistle of Jude, where the author of the prophecy, if not of the book, is identified with 'Enoch, the seventh from Adam.'⁸ The writer is

Book of
Enoch.

¹ Prov. viii. 22-31. ² ii. 6. ³ viii. 22. ⁴ Gen. i. 2. ⁵ Prov. iii. 18. ⁶ xi. 30.

⁷ Comp. Dillmann das Buch Henoch, 1853.

⁸ 'And Enoch also, the seventh from Adam, prophesied of these, saying, *Behold, the Lord cometh with ten thousands of his saints, to execute judgment upon all, and to convince all that are ungodly among them of all their ungodly deeds which they have ungodly committed, and of all their hard speeches which ungodly sinners have spoken against him*' (Jude 14, 15). 'Behold, He cometh with myriads of His saints, to execute judgment upon them, and will destroy the godless, and judge all flesh for all that the sinners and the ungodly have done and committed against him' (Enoch i. 9). If the

CHAP.
II.

undoubtedly a Palestinian, and he most probably wrote the principal parts of the book between the years 130 and 110 B.C., during the reign of John Hyrkanus. The original writer, Enoch 'the Seer,' may not have belonged to any party. He is a declared enemy of the Sadducees, whom he characterises as 'sinners,' who deny the Divine providence, the upper world of angels and spirits, a resurrection, a compensation after death, a last judgment, and a Messianic kingdom. His object is to find out and reveal the mysteries of a higher wisdom, that is, of that apocryphal tradition, from which, as we have seen, the Essenes, and partly also the Pharisees, have derived and developed their religious tenets. He urges the undivided dedication of the heart to God and His righteousness, and thus acknowledges the fundamental principle of the Essenes. The doctrine of angels is nowhere so fully developed as in this book; riches and dignities are despised;¹ at the rising of the sun prayers are offered up to God by the writer;² the art of writing with ink and paper, which has led many to a sinful confirmation of the faithfulness of their sayings, that is to oaths, is stated to have been revealed by an evil spirit;³ and so likewise swearing is referred to as having been practised and taught by fallen

latter was written nearly two centuries before the former, we are then led to the assumption that both may have been independently derived from a still more ancient tradition reaching up to Enoch. Yet the two learned opponents in this lately-raised question agree that the part which contains the passage quoted by Jude is a later interpolation (Hilgenfeld, *Jüd. Apoc.* p. 91 f. and 185 f.; Volkmar, *Handbuch in die Apokryphen*, 1863, and his *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, 1862; comp. however Ewald, '*das äthiopische Buch Henoch*,' 1854). We hope that, seen in the light of apocryphal development, the doctrines in the book of Enoch about the Divine Sonship, that is the incarnations of the Divine Word in all ages, will be easier connected with the Messianic expectations of the reformed Jews in the last pre-Christian period. They believed, that the promised terrestrial Messiah would be a 'Chosen One' among 'the chosen ones.' If 'holiness unto the Lord' is to be the standard of Immanuel-Israel; if every citizen in Messianic Jerusalem is to be called holy, then the Chosen and Anointed One from among his brethren must be a special advocate of the Divine Word from the beginning.

¹ Enoch xcviii. 2; cviii. 8.² lxxxiii. 11.³ lxi. 9, 10.

angels to the sons of men;¹ swearing by the head is especially referred to. All these are anti-Sadducean and Essenian principles. It is true that we find nowhere a trace of allegorical interpretation of Scripture; but as the writer's principal object is, by his visions to explain the doctrine of the prophets and not of the law, the absence of this fundamental Essenic principle cannot be urged as a positive proof that the writer did not belong to the Essenes.

Again, the allegorical interpretation of Scripture, according to the principles of secret tradition, was by the Pharisees forbidden to be taught in the schools; and so afraid were they that their apocryphal principles might become common property, that they are known to have as much as possible prevented people from writing. If then, at the period when this book was written, it had become possible in Palestine to write a work explaining and developing the apocryphal principles, this is a proof that the influence of the Essenes, the faithful guardians of the same, had begun to get the upper hand over the rulers of the Jewish Church. But the first attempt to commit to writing these secret principles had to be made with due caution in the face of Pharisaical and Sadducean opposition. We wonder, then, that the allegorical mode of interpretation, of which the Essenes made so much, has been kept in the background in the book of Enoch. Again, the Essenes must have been anxious to raise the writings of Daniel to the level of acknowledged prophetic Scripture. No prophet had by the visions revealed to him so much confirmed the apocryphal doctrines, which formed the Essenic standard of the faith, than Daniel, the prophet of the Son of Man, of the Messiah of the universal and heavenly kingdom. To convert their countrymen and co-religionists to a right interpretation of the Messianic prophecy proclaimed by the unknown prophet of the captivity, and to do so without attacking the literal sense

¹ Enoch vi. 4; lxix. 13; iv. 5.

CHAP.
II.

of Scripture, this must have been the first object of the Essenes. On the whole, it will therefore be difficult to deny, that it is at least probable that the writer of the book of Enoch may have been a member of the Essenic Society; whilst he is a declared enemy of the Sadducees, in no part of his writings can we trace the Pharisee. If therefore he was not a member of the Essenians, he was certainly a man whose object it was to promulgate, as much as circumstances would permit, the apocryphal tradition of which the Essenes were the faithful guardians.

Be this as it may, one thing is absolutely certain, that the principles of doctrine contained and developed in the book of Enoch are essentially identical with the doctrines contained in the Alexandrian Apocrypha. To establish this fact, we shall consider the principal doctrines contained in the book of Enoch in the same order as we have investigated the apocryphal tradition in Egypt.

God is One and Invisible.—It is no exception to the fundamental principle of apocryphal doctrine that Enoch, ‘the Seer,’ the man ‘whose eyes have been opened by the Lord,’ describes having seen God in a vision, and in such a manner as described by Daniel, that is, as ‘the Head of Days,’ or ‘the Ancient of Days.’ These visions are intended to express the unity and personality of God, as the source from which His world-pervading Spirit, His glory, proceeds. The writer does not exclaim with the author of Ecclesiasticus, ‘who hath seen Him, that he might tell us?’ To do so was difficult, since Daniel had described the Most High in a vision. But as if wishing to combine and identify the doctrine of the unity and personality, with that of the unity and spirituality of God, the writer distinctly expresses the impossibility of conceiving the mysterious personality of ‘the Most High.’ ‘Where is there a son of man who were capable of hearing the voice of the Holy One

without being shaken? And where is there one who could think His thoughts? . . . And how should there be one, who might see all the works of heaven, and who might be capable of seeing His breath or His spirit, and who might speak of it, or mount up, and who would see all ends (or wings), or think them, or do like unto them? ¹

We may here point to the remarkable fact, that the name, 'the Living God,' or 'the Living Lord' (which so frequently occurs in the Avesta), is contained only in the later Apocrypha of the pre-Christian period.²

The first-born among all creatures is the Divine Wisdom or Word, the Mediator between the Creature and the Creator, and the organ of sanctification and immortality.—The Divine 'Wisdom' or 'Word,' or 'Grace,' or 'Spirit,' of the Alexandrian Apocrypha, is here identified with the 'Son of Man,' as seen by Daniel. 'Wisdom found no place where she should dwell; then a dwelling was (assigned) to her in the heavens. Wisdom came, in order to dwell among the sons of men, and found no dwelling-place; then Wisdom returned to her place, and took her seat among the angels.'³ The Divine essence, which was in the beginning with God, has in all ages entered into holy souls for the purpose of raising sons of men unto sons of God. This apocryphal doctrine, as developed in Alexandria, we also find in the Palestinian Apocrypha. But the above-quoted passage refers to a time when the heavenly Wisdom found no place fit for her on earth. It is the time of the deluge, when God withdrew his Spirit (or Wisdom) from the earth; in consequence of this, angels alone were brought under its influence for a time. Yet before the Divine Wisdom was withdrawn from the earth, it had made a son of God of Enoch, the son of Jared, who 'walked with God,'

¹ Enoch xciii. 11, 12.

² 2 Macc. vii. 33; xv. 4; Bel. v. 1, 6, 24.

³ Enoch xlii. 1, 2.

CHAP.
II.

and was translated by him. The writer states that 'Enoch was hidden (or translated), and no one of the sons of men knew where he was hidden.'¹

In the opinion of the writer it was Enoch who, being translated, was brought before the Ancient of Days, whom Daniel saw in a vision, as 'one like a son of man.' Identifying himself, or rather in a vision being identified with Enoch at the time of his translation, the writer saw that Enoch's 'entire body melted away,' and that his 'spirit was transformed.' Enoch was therefore no more a son of man, but 'one like a son of man.' He was in the presence of the Ancient of Days, and likewise of angels; but although four angels, Michael and Gabriel, Rufael and Fanuel, are distinguished by name from the 'many' angels who accompanied the Ancient of Days, yet no mention is here made of the son of man, or of one like a son of man, as having belonged to this celestial host. It is quite clear, that in the opinion of the writer, the Danielic son of man who on the clouds of heaven ascended to the throne of God, was Enoch. He regards him as the perfect personification of Divine Wisdom, as the first son of man in whom the new birth, the Divine sonship, has been realised, as the first fruit of the Spirit, the first-born among all creatures, 'the chosen one' who is 'risen' before the Lord of Hosts. The explaining angel said to the writer, that is to Enoch: '*Thou art the Son of Man, who is born unto righteousness, and righteousness dwells over thee, and the righteousness of the Ancient of Days never leaves thee*; . . . he announces to thee peace in the name of the world to come, for from thence the peace issues forth since the creation of the world; and thus it will be with thee in eternity and for ever and ever. And *all who in times to come shall walk in the ways of Thee*, from whom righteousness never departs, *the dwellings of them shall be with Thee*, and their inheritance with Thee, and from Thee they shall not be separated in eternity, and

¹ Enoch xii. 1.

for ever and ever. And thus long life will be with that son of man, and peace will be the portion of the righteous, and his straight way (will belong) to the righteous in the name of the Lord of Hosts for ever and ever.’¹

From this it follows that in the opinion of the writer no son of man was transformed into the Divine sonship and translated to the Divine presence before Enoch, and that the Danielic prophecy about the son of man was by him conceived as referring to the translation of Enoch, and to his return to judgment. Other passages confirm this view.

‘I saw one who had a head of days (the Ancient of Days), and his head was white as wool; and beside him was another, whose face was *like the appearance of a man*, and his face was full of loveliness, like unto one of the holy angels. And I asked one of the angels who went with me and showed me all the hidden things (that he would tell me) about that son of man, who he was, and whence he was, why he went with the Ancient of Days? And he answering, said unto me: This is the son of man who has the righteousness, with whom righteousness dwelleth, and *who reveals all treasures of things hidden*, because the Lord of Hosts has chosen him, and his lot before the Lord of Hosts *has surpassed all through righteousness for ever*.’

God has predestinated Enoch to be the son of man, through whom should be manifested to mankind the power of God; that ‘great power from the beginning,’ which God created before the foundations of the earth were laid. Because of his faith in the regenerating power of the Divine Spirit, Enoch was removed from the earth without the tasting of death.² Not in his flesh he saw God;³ his body melted away before the presence of the Lord; his spirit was transformed, and he walked among angels.⁴ Thus was exemplified the mark of humanity’s high calling

¹ Enoch lxxi.³ Comp. Job xix. 26.² Comp. Heb. xi. 5.⁴ Comp. Zech. iii. 7.

CHAP.
II.

through righteousness, in accordance with the eternal purpose of God. For the name of Enoch, the son of man, 'was called before the Lord of Hosts . . . before that the sun and the signs were created, before the stars of heaven were made.'¹ Before Enoch's translation the place assigned to the son of man had not been occupied; the Divine Spirit or Wisdom from above had in vain dwelled with man below; the mark of humanity's high calling, although fixed in the Divine mind, had not yet been reached by any member of the human family. But since the translation of faithful Enoch the Divine sonship is no more a mere theory, an idea not realised, a mark not reached. It has been shown how the great prize of life eternal is to be gained; it is through righteousness, that is, through faith in the grace of God, that 'the gates of heaven' are opened to mankind.

Enoch has manifested the regenerating, and therefore the saving power of the Divine Spirit, and having become one with the same, has become an example to all believers. 'He will be a staff to the righteous and the holy, that they may lean upon it and not fall; and he will be *the light of the people* and the hope of *those who mourn* in their hearts. All who live on the earth will bow down and worship before him, and they will laud, magnify, and sing praises to *the name of the Lord of Hosts*. And for this reason he was chosen and *hidden* before him, before the world was created, and *in eternity he will be before him*. And the wisdom of the Lord of Hosts has revealed Him to the holy and to the righteous; for he preserves the lot of the righteous, because they have hated and despised this world of unrighteousness, and have hated all the works and ways of the same *in the name* of the Lord of Hosts; for *in his name* they are saved, and He becomes the avenger of their life.'²

It clearly follows from these passages that in the opinion of the writer, and according to the visions revealed to

¹ Enoch xlviii. 3.

² xlviii.

him, Enoch the individualised or embodied Divine spirit, in accordance with God's predestinated plan, will be for ever before the Lord, and therefore will not leave the place which, after the translation of the son of man, has been assigned to him in heaven. Thus, the son of man is identified with, and at the same time distinguished from, the Spirit or Wisdom of God. The Divine Spirit continues to be what it has been in all ages, excepting at the time of the deluge, the sanctifying medium between the creature and the Creator. He reveals to the righteous and the holy the heavenly prize of their high calling, the glorified son of man, the translated Enoch. It is he, who as the angel of the Lord, of whom is written, 'my name is in him,' appeared to the patriarchs as the ambassador and representative of the Most High. The second son of man who was translated like Enoch was Elijah, 'the sheep' which was 'saved' by God from the other sheep, and which was 'brought up' to Enoch. Both Enoch and Elijah will return to the earth at the time of the great judgment. The writer saw how three angels dressed in white took hold of Enoch, whose hand was held by Elijah, and both were 'taken up' to Mount Zion, in the midst of the sheep (the people of Israel), before the judgment took place.¹ The judgment will take place on Mount Zion. At this time the 'Grace' (or Wisdom or Word) of God,² the 'never-ceasing . . . light of the Lord of Hosts,'³ will dwell 'above' the righteous, and 'the chosen one' of the Lord will dwell 'among' them;⁴ the chosen ones, 'the elect,' the 'sons of God,'⁵ will dwell 'upon' the earth; and 'the first among them' will be 'the Word.'⁶ The righteous of all ages will arise from their graves, clothed in 'garments of life;' will become citizens of the Messianic kingdom in

¹ Enoch cx. 31; lxxxix. 52. ² i. 8. ³ xxxviii. ⁴ lviii. 6. ⁵ xlv. 4.

⁶ lxii. 11. It has been rendered highly probable by Dillmann, that 'the Word' is a misunderstood interpolation, occasioned by the words which follow. The first among the elect 'was a great creature, and had great black horns upon his head.' The horns seem to us to refer to the prophet like Moses, that is the Messiah.

CHAP.
II.

Zion. The earth will have been renewed, like the heavens, and will be filled with 'the spirits of the good, from the generation of light,' and with those who were 'born in darkness,' and who 'in their flesh did not receive the reward of honour, as it was due to their faithfulness,'¹ and as Enoch and Elijah had received it. And the Lord of Hosts *and his 'Son'* will unite themselves unto them for ever.²

This great judgment, which ushers in the Messianic kingdom in Zion, will be preceded by the general resurrection, whilst 'the spirits of those who have died in righteousness . . . shall live ;'³ 'the godless shall be driven away from the face of the righteous and the elect.'⁴ When the assembly or church of the righteous shall appear, and when the sinners shall be judged for their sins, and driven away from the face of the earth, and when the righteous shall appear before the eyes of the elect ; when works are weighed by the Lord of the spirits, and when the light shall appear unto the righteous and the elect who live on earth ; where will then be the dwelling-place of the sinners, and the stay of those who have denied the Lord of the Spirits? It would be better for them had they never been born. And when the secrets of the righteous will be revealed, then the sinners will be judged. . . . And the mighty kings shall perish in that time, and shall be given over into the hand of the righteous and the holy ones. And it will come to pass in those days that the chosen and holy children will descend from the high heavens, and that their seed shall unite itself with the sons of men.' Then those will praise Thee, 'who never slumber ; they stand before Thy glory, and praise, laud, and magnify Thee, saying, Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts (or spirits) ; He filleth the earth with spirits.'⁵ The writer knows, that the time of the general resurrection, of the great Judgment, and of the setting up of the Messianic kingdom in Zion is far distant. Therefore the visions revealed to him by angels are intended for 'the distant generations which shall come,' for 'the elect' of

¹ Enoch cviii. 11. ² cv. 2. ³ ciii. 3, 4. ⁴ xxxix. ⁵ xxxix.

the latter days. Since the Judgment is the sign of the coming kingdom of God upon earth, the Seer has been ordered to write fully on what he saw about the last judgment. 'The Holy One . . . the God of the world . . . will issue forth from his dwelling-place . . . and from thence will place his feet on Mount Sinai, and appear with his host, appear in the power of his might from heaven, to judge all that are on the earth.' He will come 'with myriads of holy ones,' to judge 'all flesh for all that sinners and godless persons have done and committed against him. . . . The earth will sink, and all that is on earth will perish.' ¹

'And this Son of Man whom thou hast seen will remove the kings of the mighty ones from their camps, and the violent from their thrones, and will loosen the reins of the violent, and grind the teeth of sinners.'² 'And in those days the prayer of the righteous, and the blood of the righteous, will rise up from the earth before the Lord of Hosts. In those days the holy ones who dwell in the heavens implore and pray, and praise and give thanks, and laud with one accord the name of the Lord of Hosts; because of the blood of the righteous that was shed, and of the prayer of the righteous, that it may not be in vain before the Lord of Hosts, that the judgment may be accomplished for them, and they may not have for ever to suffer. And in those days I saw the Ancient of Days, when he set himself on the throne of His glory; and the books of the living were opened before him, and the whole army that is in the heavens above and about him stood before him. And the hearts of the holy ones were filled with joy, that the number of the righteous was fulfilled, and the prayer of the righteous was heard, and the blood of the righteous was atoned before the Lord of Hosts.'³ 'And in that place I saw a fountain of righteousness which was unfathomable; it was surrounded by many fountains of righteousness, and all those that were thirsty drank out of them, and became

¹ Enoch i. 1-9.² xlv. 1-4.³ xlvii.

CHAP.
II.

filled with wisdom, and had their dwellings with the righteous and the holy and the elect. And at that hour that Son of Man was named with the Lord of Hosts, and his name before the Ancient of Days. . . . And in those days the kings of the earth and the mighty ones . . . will fall before the Lord, and not rise again. . . . for they have denied the Lord of Hosts and His Christ. The name of the Lord of Hosts be praised.’¹

‘For Wisdom is poured out like water, and glory never ceases before Him for ever and ever. For He is mighty in all mysteries of righteousness, and unrighteousness will pass away like a shadow, and be no more; because the Chosen One is risen (or is lifted up) before the Lord of Hosts; and His glory is for ever and ever, and His might from one generation to another. In Him dwells the Spirit of Wisdom, and the Spirit of Him who gives understanding, and the spirit of doctrine and of power, and the spirit of them who have fallen asleep in righteousness. And He will judge the hidden things, and nobody will be able to speak idle words before Him; for He is chosen before the Lord of Hosts after His good pleasure.’² ‘On that day the Elect One will sit on the throne of glory, and will choose among their (the men’s) deeds and dwelling-places without number, and their spirit will become strong in their innermost parts, when they see my elect, and those who have prayed to my holy and glorious name. And on that day I shall cause my elect to dwell among them, and I shall renew the heaven and make them for an eternal blessing and light. And I shall renew the earth, and make her a blessing, and let mine elect dwell on her; but those who commit sin and iniquity shall not stand upon her.’³

‘And I asked the angel who went with me, and I said: What things are those which I have seen in secret? And he said to me: All these things which thou hast seen serve the dominion of His Christ, in order that he may

¹ Enoch xlvi. .² xlix.³ xlv.

be powerful and mighty on the earth.' ¹ After that the kings and the mighty ones shall have been destroyed, 'the righteous and Chosen One will let appear the temple of His Church, which henceforth shall no more be hindered, in the name of the Lord of Hosts,' ² and which shall be 'greater and higher than the first,' and stand 'in the place of the first.' ³ 'Ye mighty kings, who will inhabit the earth (in the latter days), ye shall see my Chosen One, how he will sit on the throne of my glory, and judge Azazel (Satan) and his whole community and all his hosts, in the name of the Lord of Hosts.' ⁴ The result of this will be, that it will be said of the holy ones, 'that they are to seek in heaven the mysteries of righteousness, the inheritance of the faith; for it has become light on earth, like the light of the sun, and darkness has passed away; and there will be a never-ceasing light, and the days in which they enter will be innumerable.' ⁵

'And the Lord of Hosts placed the Chosen One on the throne of His glory, and He will judge all the holy ones in heaven, and with the balance He will weigh their works.' ⁶ 'And thus the Lord commanded the kings and the mighty ones, and the exalted ones who inhabit the earth, and said: Lift up your eyes and lift up your horns, if ye are able, in order to recognise the Chosen One. And the Lord of Hosts sat on the throne of His glory, and the spirit of righteousness was poured out above Him, and the speech of his mouth killed all sinners and all unrighteous ones, and they all die before his face. And in that day all kings and mighty ones, and those who possess the firmament, will stand and see and recognise Him as He sits on the throne of His glory, and as the righteous are judged before Him, and no idle words are spoken before Him. . . . And pains will get hold of them, when they see *that Son of the Woman*' ⁷ sit on the

¹ Enoch lii. 3, 4. ² liii. 6, 7. ³ xc. 29. ⁴ lv. 4. ⁵ lviii. 5. ⁶ lxi. 8.

⁷ Probable allusion to the Virgin, or rather the Woman, the figurative representative of Immanuel-Israel (Is. vii. 14).

CHAP.
II.

throne of His glory. And the kings and the mighty ones, and all who possess the firmament, will laud and praise and magnify Him who rules over all, who was hidden. For before this He was hidden, the Son of Man; and the Most High has preserved Him before His might, and revealed Him to the elect: and the Church of the holy and the elect will be sown, and all holy and elect ones will stand before Him on that day. And all the mighty kings and the exalted ones, and those who have dominion over the firmament, will fall before Him on their faces, and adore and set their hopes on that Son of Man, imploring Him for mercy. . . . And the Lord of Hosts will dwell above them, and with that Son of Man they will dwell together, and eat and lie down and rise for ever and ever. And the righteous and the elect will have been raised from the earth, and have ceased to cast down their faces, and will be covered with the garment of life. And this will be a garment of life with the Lord of Hosts; and your garments will not wax old, and your glory will not diminish before the Lord of Hosts.’¹ ‘And henceforth nothing that passes away will exist, for He, the Son of Man, has appeared, and sits on the throne of His glory, and all evil will vanish and pass away before His face; but the word of that Son of Man will be of weight before the Lord of Hosts.’² ‘Then I saw all mysteries of heaven, and how the kingdom was divided, and how the deeds of men are weighed in the balance.’³

Angels and Spirits.—Enoch was called by the fallen angels or ‘watchmen’ of the heavens to compose a petition asking for forgiveness.⁴ Having done so on Mount Hermon, the Lord said unto him, ‘Go and tell the watchmen of heaven who have sent thee, that thou mightest pray for them. You ought to pray for men, and not the men for you: why have you left the high, the holy, and eternal heavens? . . . Whilst you were spiritual, holy, in the enjoyment of

¹ Enoch lxii.

² lxix. 29.

³ xli.

⁴ xii. and xiii.

eternal life . . . you have desired after the blood of men, . . . and have begotten giants, . . . which shall be called evil spirits on the earth, and their dwelling-place shall be on the earth. . . . You have been in heaven, and though the hidden things had not then been revealed to you, yet ye have known an unworthy mystery, and in the hardness of your hearts ye have related it to the women, and through this mystery women and men cause much evil on the earth.’¹ ‘And they (the evil spirits) took me into a place where (beings) were like unto flaming fire, and when they would have it they appeared as men.’² ‘This place is the prison of the angels, and here they are kept imprisoned for ever.’³

‘Then I asked the angel of peace, who went with me, who showed me all that is hidden, and said unto him: Who are these four faces which I have seen, and whose voice I have heard and written down? And he said: This first is the merciful and long-suffering, the holy Michael; and the other, who is set over all diseases and over all wounds of the sons of men, is Rufael; and the third, who is set over all powers, is the holy Gabriel; and the fourth, who is set over the repentance and hope of those who inherit life eternal, is Fanuel. And these are the four angels of the Most High God, and the four voices have I heard in those days.’⁴

The Universality of God's Saving Love.—Those who have ‘not fulfilled but transgressed against the law of the Lord, . . . the hard-hearted, . . . will not find any peace,’ . . . nor ‘grace . . . ; great will be the eternal damnation.’⁵ This passage may be taken to refer to the fallen angels, of whom it is said that they are imprisoned ‘for ever.’⁶ For it is clear from the following passages that ‘all sons of men’ shall be saved. ‘The holy ones of heaven,’ Michael, Gabriel, and other

¹ Enoch xv. and xvi.² xvii. 1.³ xxi. 16.⁴ xl. 8-10.⁵ v. 4-6.⁶ xxi. 10.

CHAP.
II.

angels, having heard the prayer of 'the souls of men,' that right might be procured for them through their intervention, thus spoke to their Lord the King: 'Lord of Lords, God of Gods, King of Kings, the throne of Thy glory is established through all generations of the world, and Thy holy and glorious name through all generations of the world; lauded and highly praised art Thou.'¹ 'And thou (Gabriel) purify the earth of all oppression and of all unrighteousness, and of all sin, and of all wickedness, and of all uncleanness, which is (being) committed on the earth; make her to vanish from the earth. And *all sons of men shall become righteous*, and *all people* shall adore and praise me, and all will pray to me. And the earth will be pure of all wickedness, and of all sin, and of all punishment, and of every plague; and I will never again send a flood over them, from generation to generation, for ever.'²

Righteousness by the Grace of God.—It is through the Divine Wisdom, or Grace, by the incarnations of the Holy Spirit, that all sons of men shall become righteous. The 'glorious name' of God, which is established through 'all generations of the world,' is the Divine Wisdom, or grace, which is poured out like water on all flesh. And so it is in the spiritual world; for of the angel of the Lord it is said, 'my name is in him.' The doctrine of righteousness by the grace of God is exemplified by the life of Enoch, who is called 'the scribe of righteousness,' and after his translation 'the Son of Man who is born unto righteousness,' and over whom righteousness dwells for ever. By the grace of God comes righteousness, and by righteousness the spiritual birth, by which 'the gates of heaven' are opened, and immortality is inherited. Enoch, therefore, is a preacher of righteousness. 'And he (Enoch) spoke with all his children about righteousness, and said, . . . my beloved,

¹ Enoch ix. 1-4.² x. 20-22.

love righteousness and walk in the same. And do not approach righteousness with a double heart, and do not keep company with those who are of a double heart. . . . I swear unto you ye righteous, that in heaven the Angels think of you for good before the glory of the Great One; that your names are written down before the glory of the Great One. Hope, for before ye had shame and misfortune and misery, and now ye shall shine as the lights of heaven, and ye shall be seen, and the gate of heaven shall be opened unto you.’¹ ‘And I will lead out into a bright shining light those who loved my holy *name*, and I will place every one on the throne of glory—*of his own glory*.’²

Atonement by Righteousness.—It is because of the *prayer* and not of the *blood* of the righteous, that ‘the plant of righteousness and of right shall appear.’ Whilst nothing is said in favour of bloody sacrifices, and whilst the sinners are blamed for eating blood, the latter are reminded that an account of their sins is kept in heaven, and that since they do not know any ‘ransom,’ they will depart and die. It is evident, therefore, that according to Palestinian, as according to Alexandrian apocryphal tradition, ‘to forsake unrighteousness is a propitiation,’ the ‘ransom’ needed for sins committed; but that no sacrifice atones in the sight of God. Although the blood of the righteous has not been shed or raised up in vain, yet the blood of the righteous *does not atone, but is atoned for* by the Lord of Hosts in the day of judgment.³ The writer knows of no other atonement for sin than that by righteousness.

TARGUMS.

Parts of the law and the prophets were read every Sabbath in the synagogues,⁴ and ‘the book of the law’ was publicly read on the feast of tabernacles of every

¹ Enoch civ. 1, 2.² cviii. 12.³ xlvii.⁴ Acts xv. 21; comp. Luke iv. 16.

CHAP.
II.

Sabbatical year in much earlier times.¹ To render this possible, a translation into the Aramean dialect must have become necessary soon, if not immediately after, the Babylonian captivity. Other circumstances had rendered necessary not only a free translation but an interpretation of holy writ; for the verbal law was added to the written law, the former being the interpreter of the latter. Both translation and explanation were designated by the term *Targum*. The Babylonian Talmud informs us, that 'the Targum existed from the time of Ezra;' that 'it was forgotten, and Onkelos restored it.'² In the course of time there sprung up a guild, whose special office it was to act as interpreters in both senses, while formerly the learned alone volunteered their services. They were called *Me-turgeman*, from which word the Italian *Turcimanno*, the French *Truchement*, the German and English *Dragoman* are derived.

This reformation was not less radical than that which was rendered necessary by the apocryphal doctrine in Egypt. The only difference was, that whilst in Palestine no apocryphal Scriptures formed part of the Hebrew canon, and whilst the latter, by the side of its hidden paraphrases, was preserved in the form in which it had been settled by Ezra, in Egypt the canon itself was paraphrased in accordance with the apocryphal writings which formed part of the Greek canon. Here the principal school-book was the apocryphal Scripture called *Ecclesiasticus*, whilst in Palestine, as we have seen, the apocryphal tradition, or the oral Targum, was not altogether permitted to be taught in the schools, and whilst the written Targum was strictly forbidden to be read in public.³

It has been fairly established of late,⁴ that the Targum

¹ Deut. xxxi. 10-13.

² Meg. 3, a.

³ Jer. Meg. iv. 1.

⁴ See the admirable treatise on the ancient versions (*Targum*) by Mr. Deutsch, in Smith's Dictionary, from which this extract is taken.

on the Pentateuch, known as that of Onkelos, 'was begun to be committed to writing about the end of the second century, A.C. . . . We shall not be far wrong in placing the work of collecting the different fragments with their variants, and reducing them into one finally authorised version, about the end of the third or the beginning of the fourth century, and in assigning Babylon to it as the birthplace. It was at Babylon that about this time the light of learning, extinguished in the blood-stained fields of Palestine, shone with threefold vigour. The Academy at Nahardea, founded, according to legend, during the Babylonian exile itself, had gathered strength in the same degree, as the numerous Palestinian schools begun to decline. And when in 259 A.C. that most ancient school was destroyed, there were three others simultaneously flourishing in its stead: Tiberias, whither the college of Palestinian Jabneh had been transferred in the time of Gamaliel III. (200); Sora, founded by Chasda of Kafri (293); and Pumbedita, founded by R. Jehuda b. Jechekeel (297). And in Babylon for well nigh a thousand years "the crown of the law" remained, and to Babylon, the seat of the "Head of the Golah" (Dispersion), all Israel, scattered to the ends of the earth, looked for its spiritual guidance.'

We are now in a position to assert that the principles of apocryphal or secret tradition were essentially the same in Palestine and in Egypt, and that the Jewish Targum, or the Hidden Wisdom among the Jews, has many points in common with the Aryan tradition, known to us through the Zend-Avesta. Conclu-
sion.

If then we have succeeded in establishing the probability, that the record in Genesis about Adam, Cain and Abel refers to the separation of two Aryan tribes in the time of Zoroaster, the great Aryan reformer, the similarity between the Jewish and the Aryan tradition may be accounted for in two ways. It may be assumed, that the

CHAP.
II.

Zendavesta, containing writings either directly or indirectly attributed to Zoroaster, has at a certain period to such an extent been assimilated to the most ancient Jewish records, that the similarity of religious conceptions can be thus explained. We do not anticipate that such an argument will be seriously raised. Unless therefore the figurative interpretation of the Adamitic record can be shown up as a fallacy, the Japhetic tradition in the Avesta must either be regarded as the source of the Semitic tradition in the Bible, or we must assume that the revelation made to Adam and to Abraham was distinct from, though mainly identical with, the revelation made to Zoroaster. On the whole, it may not be unreasonable to suppose, that Zoroaster and 'Adam' are identical persons, and that the revelation to Abraham previously to his leaving 'Ur of the Chaldees,' and 'four hundred and thirty years' before the law was given to Moses,¹ was made not without the instrumentality of the Aryan tradition as transmitted by the Chaldees, the adherents of the Zoroastrian religion. If this be admitted, then it is proved that the Jewish tradition, Israel's pearl of great price, was not based on a fiction, but that it originated with 'Adam,' whilst Abraham and Moses were its first great prophets.

The reform of the national faith seems to have commenced during the period of the Babylonian captivity. The Apocrypha of the Septuagint prove, that the principles of the Hidden Wisdom were committed to writing, if not in the fourth, at least in the third and second centuries before the commencement of the Christian era. But the writings of the great unknown prophet of the Babylonian captivity, which form the last twenty chapters of the book of Isaiah, are a sufficient proof that at the time when the Jewish nation came into nearer contact with the Chaldæans, the principles of secret tradition, whether more developed during that period or not, ceased

¹ Gal. iii. 17.

to be confided to the few, and gradually formed part of the national faith. This view is confirmed by the writings of all the prophets during and after the captivity, whilst the writings of Jeremiah prove, that even before this eventful epoch new elements of doctrine had been ingrafted on the national faith. The verbal law was added to the written law, not only as a supplementary charter, but as the standard of interpretation for the records of the past. These were edited at a time when it had become advisable, if not necessary, to harmonise the verbal with the written law. The second law, or Deuteronomy, seems to have been composed at some earlier period, probably in the time of Jeremiah, with a view to the attainment of so important an object. Only the record, and not the contents were new. What the Israelites could not have borne in the days of Moses; what the great prophet and lawgiver had secretly revealed to the chosen few; what the faithful guardians of secret tradition had transmitted ever since the days of Moses, of Abraham, and of 'Adam,' was gradually proclaimed to the people from the days of Josias to the days of Daniel and of Christ. The Aryan or Japhetic traditions being known to the people of the Chaldæans, the guardians of the secret Semitic tradition were forced to reveal the same to the people, and thus to show in how far the one agreed with the other. It is quite possible, and even probable, that to a certain extent the one tradition was enriched by the other. But both the Chaldæan as well as the Israelitic tradition went back to Abraham, the inhabitant of 'Ur of the Chaldees,' if not to Zoroaster, the Aryan reformer, and the 'Adam' of the Bible. Like the Divine glory, veiled by the cloudy pillar, the Divine grace and truth, veiled by secret tradition, has in all ages led the exodus of mankind.

It is a necessary preliminary to the right understanding of the preaching of Jesus Christ, to trace out the gradual

CHAP.
II.

development of the Jewish reform, that is, of Jewish gnosticism, up to the time of Christ's advent. In order to complete the above investigations on apocryphal literature, we now proceed to point out the last pre-Christian development of Judaism in Egypt. The writings of Philo show to what contradictions the Jews of Alexandria were driven by the unscrupulous attempt to harmonise the old standard of 'it is written,' with the new standard of 'it is taught.'

CHAPTER III.

PHILO OF ALEXANDRIA.

DEVELOPMENT OF JEWISH GnosticISM.

'Keep that which is committed to thy trust, avoiding profane and vain babblings, and oppositions of science falsely so called: which some professing have erred concerning the faith.'—1 Tim. vi. 20, 21.

PHILO lived from twenty years before till fifty years after the commencement of the Christian era, and was therefore the contemporary and the survivor of Christ. By his numerous and distinguished works he has transmitted to us a comprehensive account of the last phase in the development of pre-Christian Jewish gnosticism. Born in Alexander's city, which soon after its foundation in the year 332 B.C. became 'the great city of the west;' this Jewish philosopher was a shining light among the descendants of the Hebrew race, which in Philo's time numbered nearly one million. Many circumstances had combined in remoulding the Jewish character on Egyptian soil. Living together with Greeks and Egyptians, and with representatives of almost every nation, they had abandoned the language of their fathers; and the new words of the Greek language, which they but imperfectly learnt, helped to convey to their minds new ideas. As it was, a great reformation in the faith of the Jewish nation had taken place in Babylon, and the new doctrines which

CHAP.
III.

CHAP.
III.Aristo-
bulus.

the forefathers of the Alexandrian colonists had imbibed in the East had been committed to writing in the emporium of the West several centuries before the time of Philo.

The great forerunner of Philo was Aristobulus, an Alexandrian Jew, who lived in the second century before Christ. 'The Alexandrian Jews, who, like Aristobulus, begun that exchange of ideas between Judaism and Hellenism, which was to produce so great results, felt the want of explaining to themselves and to others the improbabilities and impossibilities of the law. Thus, the law attributed to the Divine power hands, arms, and a face, motion, work, and rest. These difficulties had to be answered. Without hesitation Aristobulus sacrifices the letter of the Divine books. Tradition is to be taken in its natural sense, and the Divine idea is to be held up to the level of the Divine Being. Otherwise the fall into a fabulous and entirely human representation will be inevitable. What is represented in the descriptions and accounts of Moses are often but types. Where imagination sees nothing great, there intelligence discovers the Divine truth. When Moses speaks of the hand of God, which has brought His people out of Egypt, and which strikes the Egyptians, it is the power of God which has done this. Likewise the descent of Jehovah on Mount Sinai cannot be taken literally, for God is everywhere. This apparition of the Highest in the midst of thunder and lightning is nothing else than the revelation of God by all its powers. Again, when Moses says that God rested on the sixth day, he does not mean that God did not any more create anything, for this would militate against His essentially active and productive nature. This word of rest, when applied to God, signifies only the perfect accomplishment of the work of creation. Aristobulus applies the same method of interpretation to the myths of the Greek religion. Thus, Jupiter is the power of God, considered in its universal expansion and action. It is in the writings of Aristobulus that we find for the

first time the expression of that idea, which, absurd as it was, met with so much success in the schools of Judaism and (Alexandrian) Christianity, that the wisdom of the Greek flows from Holy Writ.¹ Aristobulus compiled supposed verses of Greek poets, partly fabricated by himself, in which he showed that the former had expressed themselves not only in favour of Monotheism, but especially of the religious tenets of the Jews. 'We find in our time hardly conceivable the audacity with which a Jew was able to let Orpheus speak of Abraham, of Moses and the Ten Commandments, and to let Homer speak about the final accomplishment of creation on the seventh day, and about the keeping holy of the Sabbath. But Aristobulus knew his people better. Not only did the vanity of his cotemporaries among the Jews come to meet him with implicit faith, but also learned Fathers of the Christian Church, like Clement of Alexandria and Eusebius, refer with unhesitating faith to his fabricated passages, containing such proofs.'²

'For some time the Jewish Church in Alexandria was in close dependence on that of Jerusalem. Both were subject to the civil power of the first Ptolemies, and both acknowledged the High Priest as their religious head. The persecution of Ptolemy Philopator³ occasioned the first political separation between the two bodies. From that time the Jews of Palestine attached themselves to the fortunes of Syria, and the same policy which alienated the Palestinian party gave union and decision to the Jews of Alexandria. The Septuagint translation which strengthened the barrier of language between Palestine and Egypt, and the temple at Leontopolis,⁴ which subjected the Egyptian Jew to the charge of schism, widened the breach which was thus opened. But the division, though marked, was not complete. At the beginning of the Christian era the Egyptian Jew still paid the contributions

¹ Vacherot, 'Ecole d'Alexandrie.'² Strauss, 'Leben Jesu,' 1864, p. 45.³ 217 B.C.⁴ 161 B.C.

CHAP.
III.

to the temple service. Jerusalem, though its name was fashioned to a Greek shape, was still the holy city, the metropolis, not of a country, but of a people, and the Alexandrians had a synagogue there.¹ The internal administration of the Alexandrian Church was independent of the Sanhedrin at Jerusalem, but respect survived submission.'

'There were, however, other causes which tended to produce at Alexandria a distinct form of the Jewish character and faith. The religion and philosophy of that restless city produced an effect upon the people more powerful than the influence of politics or commerce. Alexander himself symbolised the spirit with which he wished to animate his new capital, by founding a temple of Isis side by side by the temples of the Grecian gods. The creeds of the east and west were to co-exist in friendly union; and in aftertimes the mixed temple of Serapis was characteristic of the Greek kingdom of Egypt. This catholicity of worship was further combined with the spread of universal learning. The same monarchs who favoured the worship of Serapis founded and embellished the museum and library, and part of the library was deposited in the serapeum. The new faith and the new literature led to a common issue, and the Egyptian Jews necessarily imbibed the spirit which prevailed around them. The Jews were indeed particularly susceptible of the influence to which they were exposed. They presented from the first a capacity for eastern or western development. To the faith and conservation of the Oriental they united the activity and energy of the Greek. The mere presence of the Greek culture could not fail to call into play their powers of speculation, which were hardly suppressed by the traditional legalism of Palestine; and the unchanging element of Divine revelation, which they always retained, enabled them to harmonise new thought with old belief.'²

¹ Acts vi. 9.

² Mr. Westmacott's article on Alexandria in Smith's Dictionary.

We have seen that one of the fundamental principles of reformed Judaism or Jewish gnosticism, which originated in Babylon, is the unity and spirituality of God, as somewhat modifying but not as denying the mysterious personality of the Creator. As the source of all intelligence, justice, and love, of all good, the Almighty was no longer conceived as being fashioned like unto men, but as a spiritual Being, from whom the Divine Spirit proceeds, which, by pervading reasonable creatures, becomes the organ of communication between them and their Creator. We pointed out that this and the other fundamental principles of apocryphal tradition account for all essential alterations and augmentations of the Hebrew canon which were effected in Egypt. Inseparably connected with the invisibility of God is the apocryphal doctrine about the Divine Wisdom, Word, Grace, or Spirit of God, which, although being in the beginning with God, was in all ages sent by him to be with man, and by the atonement for the sins of the world to effect the salvation—that is, the immortality of all flesh. Conceiving the Supermundane God or Spirit to be entirely apart and independent from all matter, the idea of the Eternal Word, which is at the same time in heaven and on earth, formed the necessary communication between God and man. Having descended from the Supermundane throne of God's glory, the mission of the Divine Word is to raise humanity to its celestial type; being the first created Son of God, the Divine Word is to raise up sons of God among the sons of men.

We shall now try to establish which of the doctrines of Philo are essentially identical with apocryphal or eastern traditions.¹ Although a disciple of Plato, yet Philo protests against the Greek philosopher's fundamental principle of the eternity of matter, by declaring that 'God, in calling things into being, has not only rendered them visible, but he has produced that which did not

Eternity of
Matter.

¹ See Vacherot's 'Ecole d'Alexandrie.'

CHAP.
III.

The Word.

before exist; he is not only the architect of the universe, but also its founder.' Inasmuch as it is impossible for the absolute, immutable, eternal, indivisible, and universal God 'to enter into contact with matter,' he has first of all created the Divine Word. Philo represents the same as 'the outward word,' the image and figure of God; and yet not as the latter in itself, which is invisible, but as its type. As the first manifestation of the Divine powers, the Word is the first-born, the first exchange of God; as the ideal type of human nature, it is the perfect man, the heavenly Adam. Thus far Philo implicitly follows the principles of Babylonian or apocryphal tradition, according to which the Word, Wisdom or Spirit is the first-born among all creatures. And he does so likewise, when defining the non-corporeal or spiritual nature, both of God and of the Divine Word. He writes: 'Why does God say: I have created man to the image of God,¹ as if it were a question of another God and not of himself? In fact, a mortal being could not be like to *the supreme God*, father of the universe, but only to *the second God*, who is the Word of the former. For it was necessary that *the rational type in the soul of man should be an impression of the Divine Word*, since the God who is *before* the Word is better than all rational nature. Nothing mortal could, therefore, resemble the God who is superior to the Word, and who resides by himself in the primordial essences.' In another passage, Philo writes: 'I have heard a disciple of Moses pronounce this oracle: There is the man whose name is East; a strange appellation, if it had been the intention to speak of man composed of a soul and of a body. But if the man in question is this *incorporeal man, who comprehends in himself the Divine idea*, it must be avowed without difficulty that this name East is the name which suits

¹ Although for his argument the Elohistic text in Genesis, 'Let us make man,' would have been better, yet he quotes what we must consider to have been one of the authoritative texts in Alexandria. For he does in another passage quote also the Elohistic text.

him best.' All these passages well agree with one another, and the incorporeal man of the east may possibly have been identified with the sun. 'God is the pure aboriginal light; image of the same and intelligible brightness (or mirror), enlightening the human souls, is the Wisdom or the Word.'¹

So far Philo therefore identifies the Divine Word with the Divine Spirit, as is done in the Apocrypha. Whilst, according to the latter the Word or Wisdom is 'with all flesh' according to God's 'gift' or 'grace;' according to Philo, the non-corporeal word is the type of what is rational and divine in man. Again he follows the apocryphal tradition in stating that God created the world through His first created word. As 'the father of the universe,' God by His will calls into being, not things which were invisible, but that which had no existence before. Here, again, Philo re-echoes the Eastern doctrine, which we have traced in the Jehovistic account of creation in Genesis, as opposed to the Elohist account. Thus also he opposes the latter by not admitting that God 'rested' on the seventh day in the literal sense of the word. How could he rest unless work was to him labour? And how can such an opinion be entertained of the Divine Being, whose will alone sufficed to produce that which did not before exist, and whose word or first archangel did all the work of creation at his command!

So important is it, according to Philo, not to mix the absolutely divine with any part of creation, that even the Divine Word, because it is the first created and most perfect image of God, cannot be brought in contact with things created. In order to convey the Spirit of God to rational creatures, angels were created in the beginning. These he conceives as subordinate to all divine and eternal ideas and to the first created word, just as much as the latter, the 'Son' and 'first-born of God' is subordinate to God the 'Father.' The Word is therefore, strictly

¹ De Mun. Pf. 1, 18.

CHAP.
III.

speaking, not defined by Philo as the Mediator in the fullest sense of the word. And so anxious is the Jewish philosopher to insist on the subordination of the Divine Word, that he does not admit the latter to be more than the shadow of the Divine light. It is the most perfect manifestation of the Divine powers, without being identical with the same. For God is one and indivisible. But the Word forms the first link in the chain which connects the infinite with the finite. The second link is formed by the angels, some of whom are confined to heaven, whilst others leave their place, and transmit the Divine Spirit, proceeding from the Father and the Son, to the souls of men. Thus plainly is the doctrine of Divine incarnation developed by Philo, in accordance with Eastern and apocryphal tradition.

Philo's doctrine of the Divine Spirit is in the most essential points likewise in perfect harmony with the Apocrypha. God the Father is ineffable and inaccessible. But in order to enable the soul of man to become like the aboriginal type of all humanity, of all living souls, God pours His Spirit upon all flesh according to His grace, through the mediation of the Word, who sits by His throne, and of ministering spirits or angels. Philo regards the Divine Spirit as the principle of life for nature, and as the principle of inspiration and immortality for mankind. But Philo distinguishes in several passages the Divine Spirit, not only from God the 'Father,' but also from the Word of God, from the Son, in so far as the Holy Spirit proceeds from both ; whilst the Holy Spirit is not confined to heaven, the Word cannot descend from its celestial abode. This apparent inconsistency can, however, be easily explained. Because the Divine Spirit engenders only life in nature, but in man godliness and immortality. Philo expressly states, that the Spirit of God inhabits the soul, and not reason ; from which, however, it does by no means follow that, according to his idea, reason cannot be influenced by the Divine Spirit. How

could this be asserted, since the Divine Word, as regards creation, was conceived as the type of rational nature, and therefore as the type of that which is rational in human nature? The mission of the Spirit is, according to Philo, to perfect reasonable creatures so as to render them like their first created heavenly type. Since the Divine Word cannot descend to them they must be raised up. And in order to become, like the Word, sons of God, they must first become sons of the Word, through the operation of the Holy Spirit. In this sense the Divine Word which was in the beginning with God and sits by his throne, according to the Apocrypha, is the Father of mankind according to Philo. He writes: 'It is necessary that everybody, whilst finding himself unworthy to bear the name of the Son of God, should strive to perfect himself after the first-born Word of God, the most ancient of angels, and who under divers names is represented as an archangel. For he is alternately called principle, word, the pattern of a man, the seer of Israel. It is for this reason that I have lately been led to praise the virtues of those who say that we are all the children of a *single man*. And in fact if we do not yet deserve to be accounted as children of God, at least we are already the sons of His formless image, and of His most Holy Word.' It is clear that, according to Philo, the Divine Spirit is the *organ* of mediation, and the Divine Word the *object* of mediation, the ideal mark of humanity's high calling. Through the Divine Spirit man is to strive after the realisation of the Divine Word.

This last development of the doctrine about the Divine Word is not known to, or at least not developed by, the writers of the Alexandrian Apocrypha. This individualised first-born among all creatures is merely the *ideal* image of Divine powers as regards God, and the *ideal* type of rational nature as regards creation; it is the 'pattern' of man, its archetype, which though 'formless,' combines all the elements of individuality. But neither the writers of

CHAP.
III.

the Apocrypha nor Philo conceived the idea that this heavenly Adam, who existed *before* the terrestrial Adam, could *himself* leave the place of his glory and become flesh. Although they all admit man's fall, and the necessity of salvation, they proclaim the one God as the Saviour, who has not only created in the beginning the Divine Word, the receptacle and fulness of 'the breath of the power of God,' and of 'the pure influence flowing from the glory of the Almighty;' but who has sent this, 'His great power from the beginning,' . . . 'in all ages, . . . into all flesh, . . . into holy souls,' and according to His 'grace' making them 'friends of God.' Sinful flesh was therefore in all ages redeemed by the incarnation of the Divine Spirit, which was given according to God's 'grace,' and according to man's obedience to the dictates of God's holy witness in the human soul. If, therefore, the enmity between the flesh and the spirit continued, this was the fault of man's disobedience. He might be obedient unto death; his whole life might be, by God's grace, a manifestation of Divine powers. But such a perfect incarnation of God's 'great power from the beginning,' through the mediation of which God has been willing in all ages to redeem all flesh, and actually has redeemed in all ages holy souls, such a heavenly Adam on earth was not known either to the writers of the Apocrypha or to Philo, the contemporary and survivor of Christ. And yet, according to his system it is quite possible for man to be by the operation of the Divine Spirit, and by his obedience, so perfected after the ideal pattern, the first-born Word of God, as to become identical with the Holy Spirit within him, which proceeds from the Father and from his ideal first-created Son, who was with Him in the beginning, and who sits by His throne till that vacant seat is filled by the Son of Man. Any man might at any time have been perfectly conformed to the image of God and to the aboriginal pattern of mankind, that is to the Word of God. But this was reserved for the fulness of time.

This doctrine of Philo about the Holy Spirit, Wisdom or Word in heaven, and at the same time on earth, the former being an ideal image of God and pattern of mankind, the latter being a sanctifying medium and redeemer, is entirely in harmony with the principles developed in the book of Enoch. But there is this marked difference between the two, that, according to the Palestinian, the mark of humanity's high calling had ceased to be merely ideal, Enoch having been by the Divine Spirit raised to the pattern of mankind, in accordance with God's predestinated plan. According to the Alexandrian, no perfect incarnation of the Spirit of God had taken place before and during the beginning of the Christian era; nor was such a pattern of Divine incarnations expected, either by the writers of the Alexandrian Apocrypha or by Philo. Indeed, in the former, the Divine Wisdom or Word is absolutely identical with the Divine Spirit poured on all flesh, in order to redeem sons of men in all ages. Yet even according to the Alexandrian Apocrypha the Divine Spirit proceeds from above, and pervades the world below; its roots are in heaven and its fruit is on the earth. It was, therefore, likewise conceived as being in heaven and on earth at the same time.

Although the definition, 'Son of Man,' or 'one like a Son of Man,' or 'the Son of Man,' does not occur either in the Alexandrian Apocrypha or in the writings of Philo, yet the latter so far follows the writer of the book of Enoch as to define the Wisdom or Word of God as 'the second God,' without, however, regarding the same either as a heavenly individual created by God before all creatures, or as a human individual raised to the throne of God, like Enoch and Elijah. We need therefore not be surprised to find that, in course of time, this view of the Divine Word led to a personification of the same, and that the doctrine of an eternal and personified Divine Word found its way, during the after-apostolic period, into one of the most ancient compendiums of secret,

CHAP.
III.

gnostic, or Cabalistic tradition, in the 'Zohar,' where an aboriginal creature, 'Adam-Kadmon,' is referred to. And yet even the 'heavenly Adam' of the Zohar seems to have been conceived as a merely *ideal* embodiment of the Divine Spirit; since, in a similar work of probably earlier date, the 'Jezirah,' the Word, as a Divine essence, is identified with the Divine Spirit, just as in the Alexandrian pre-Christian Apocrypha. The 'Adam-Kadmon' is stated in the Jezirah to be a spiritual essence, which goes through various incorporations, having become incarnate in Adam, in Enoch, in Noah, and in other righteous men.

The distinction made in Sacred Writ between 'the angel of the Lord' and other angels shows that at a very early period some one ministering spirit, and certainly not always the same, was distinguished from other angels by his office of representing Jehovah and of revealing His commandments. But even 'the angel of Jehovah' is a created being.¹ It is, therefore, not improbable that, partly under the influence of the Danielic prophecy about the Son of Man, partly, and more so, under the necessity of counteracting the polytheistic and pantheistic influence of Greek philosophy and Egyptian cosmogony, the writers of the book of Enoch in Palestine, and, about a century later Philo in Alexandria, promulgated the doctrine of an ideal 'second God,' who participates in the Divine government of the world. It is an essential element in Enoch's and in Philo's doctrine that the Divine Word can never come down from heaven, but that it remains with God in the glory which it, or rather which *He*, had before the foundations of the earth were laid. But the Palestinian, as already observed, conceived that the eternal *ideal* pattern was, in course of time, substituted by the real and personal pattern of mankind raised to the God-head. Again, though the translated Enoch remains 'for ever' with the Lord, yet His return is announced in the

¹ Comp. Ex. xxiii. 20 f. with xxxii. 34; Mat. i. 20; xxviii. 2; Luke ii. 9 f. &c.

latter days, when He will dwell on earth as the invisible Judge: ideas which have found no expressions in the writings of Alexandria. It may be therefore asserted of the writers of the book of Enoch, and also of Philo, that they conceived a distinction between the Word of God and the Spirit of God.

Philo therefore acknowledges :

1. God the Father, the only eternal God.
2. God 'the Son,' the Word, the First-born, the image of God, the 'High Priest,' the 'Paraclete,' or Advocate, the Archtype of rational creatures, the 'Incorporeal Man,' who for ever sits by the throne of God as 'second God.'
3. God the Holy Ghost, who by inhabiting the souls of men makes them first sons of the Word, and then sons of God.

From this it seems to follow that 'the Son,' as distinguished from the Father, and also from the Holy Spirit, has merely an ideal existence. He is conceived by Philo as representing the aboriginal thought of the Creator with regard to the standard to which mankind is destined to be elevated; that is, the predestinated mark of humanity's high calling, which the latter are to be enabled to reach through the operation of the Holy Spirit, that is, of Divine grace. If, therefore, through the effectual operation of the Spirit of God in man, and through man's obedience, the human will shall have been conformed to the Divine will, then such man will have been formed in perfect accordance with God's aboriginal thought; the real pattern of mankind will have ceased to be a Divine idea and unaccomplished predestination, and it will have been manifested by flesh and blood, by the perfect incarnation of God's Holy Spirit. Under such circumstances, according to Philo's system, mankind *might* be raised to the Godhead. But since the Messiah was not expected by all the Alexandrian Jews, they hardly looked forward to an absolutely perfect incarnation of the Holy Spirit of God.

Having pointed out those doctrines of Philo which are

CHAP.
III.

Eastern
and
Western
sources.

essentially identical with apocryphal, eastern, or Aryan traditions, we have now briefly to refer to those principles of doctrine contained in his writings which divulge the influence of western philosophy.

The Jewish philosopher lived in the great city of the west, in the second Athens; and its founder's idea was, as we have seen, that it should become the centre of catholicity, where the creeds of the east and of the west were to co-exist in friendly union. To the principles of oriental theology and cosmogony, which the Jews had imbibed in Babylon, principles of western philosophy had been added, and had greatly influenced the Jewish mind. Philo seems to make a serious attempt to reconcile the one with the other, a task the impossibility of which is obvious. The supernatural forms an essential part of oriental theology and cosmogony, whilst it has no place in that of the Greek. God is the idea of ideas, and co-eternal with matter. This is Plato's fundamental principle, and Philo does not shrink to adopt it, so that he entangles himself in a network of endless contradictions. Faithful to the principles of the reformed Jewish tradition, he had defined God as ineffable and inaccessible, and as separated from the world, with which however he established a communication through the medium of first-created beings in the spiritual world. Yet under the influence of Greek philosophy he regards God as the final cause of the universe, as the Good. But by the side of this, the active cause of the world, there is co-existing and co-eternal matter, the passive cause of the same. Thus God and the world are one, and no mediator is required; the finite is but the visible manifestation of the invisible infinite, which is absorbed by the former, and has no existence apart from it. Accordingly, there is no distinction made between the spiritual and the material world. Philo writes: 'The intelligible world is nothing else than the Divine reason creating the world; and, in fact, this ideal city is somewhat analogous to the reasoning of the architect, thinking to

construct in reality the city which he has raised in his thought. . . It is clear that this archetype figure (as regards God), which we call the intelligible world, is himself the supreme specimen (as regards the world), the idea of ideas.' Consequently, the Divine Word or Logos is no more conceived as the living Word, the manifested power of Jehovah, but as the archetype of things, the supreme unity of the created world's primitive ideas. It is the Divine Word or Demiurg of Plato. Such are the consequences of Philo's attempted fusion of eastern and western ideas.

CHAP.
III.

We have traced the development of Jewish gnosticism from Babylon to Palestine, and from Babylon to Egypt. We have seen that in the latter country the principles of oriental tradition, imbibed by the Jewish nation during the captivity, became later mixed up with principles of western philosophy. Thus to the pure Monotheism of the east were opposed the Polytheism and Pantheism of the west. Principles so contradictory cannot be combined. Philo does not, therefore, attempt to do so, but merely places these opposing principles in juxtaposition to one another. Yet the Alexandrian philosopher already points out indirectly in what manner eastern Monotheism and western Dualism can be combined. It is by not distinguishing the finite from the infinite, creation from its Creator. If God is a mere idea, and not a supermundane, all-sufficient and almighty, mysterious personality; if God and the world are one, and differ only in so far that the one is invisible and the other visible; then spirit and matter, the two eternal, may be distinguished and identified at the same time. Thus fatal Dualism was opposed by equally fatal Pantheism.

Conclu-
sion.

The leading principles of the Jewish reform in Babylon, and of its later development on Palestinian and on Egyptian soil, are the following:—

1. The secret or apocryphal tradition which was promulgated among the Jews during the Babylonian captivity was in the last pre-Christian period fully acknowledged

CHAP.
III.

and committed to writing by the Jews in Egypt; but it was only partially acknowledged and secretly promulgated by the Pharisees in Palestine, whilst faithfully preserved by the Essenes.

2. According to this eastern or Aryan tradition, the eternal God, the living Creator of all, is invisible and confined to heaven, his throne. But the Divine Spirit, Wisdom or Word issued forth in the beginning from the mysterious person of God, as the first-born among all creatures, for the purpose of being poured on all flesh in all ages, according to God's 'grace.' The Holy Spirit, Wisdom or Word is the organ of sanctification and of immortality, the atoning mediator between fallen man on earth and his Creator in heaven.

3. Under the influence of Messianic expectations and of Danielic prophecies in Palestine, and also of Dualistic western philosophy in Egypt, this doctrine about the Divine Spirit, Wisdom or Word was in the last pre-Christian period developed by the Jews into the conception of the Divine Word as a created 'second God,' confined to heaven with the Father as the Divine pattern of creation, whilst distinguished from the Divine Spirit, which continued to be regarded as the atoning mediator between God and man. As before, so now it was conceived to be the mission of the Spirit of God to become incarnate, and thus to raise sons of God among the sons of men.

4. Whilst in Alexandria even perfect Divine incarnations were acknowledged to have taken place in all ages; in Palestine the Danielic prophecy about the Son of Man was by some understood to refer to the perfect incarnation and the translation of Enoch; whilst others seem to have identified the Son of Man with the promised Messiah, and expected him as the perfect type of Divine incarnations.

We have now to consider the doctrines of Christ, and their relation to the principles of apocryphal tradition.

CHAPTER IV.

THE PREACHING OF JESUS CHRIST.

INTRODUCTION—CHRIST AND THE PHARISEES—CHRIST AND HIS DISCIPLES
 —CHRIST AND THE JEWS—CHRIST AND THE APOCRYPHA—CHRIST AND
 PHILO—CHRIST'S SECOND COMING.

'In this place is One greater than the temple.'—Mat. xii. 6.

THE national faith of the Hebrews underwent an important reform during the Babylonian captivity. Whatever may be thought about their first acquaintance with the doctrine of the Divine Word, it is certain that the doctrine of immortality was accepted by the greater part of the Israelitic community previous to its return to the Holy Land, whilst it had been unknown to the same before. The Essenes, and to a certain extent the Pharisees, represented the reformed party in the Jewish Church, whilst the conservative or stationary party was represented by the Sadducees. We have now, first, to inquire in what relation the doctrine of Christ stood to Mosaic Judaism as recorded in the Pentateuch, and to reformed Judaism as recorded in the Apocrypha.

Although the doctrine of immortality and of the resurrection was known to Gentile nations many centuries before the promulgation of the law on Sinai, it is more or less doubtful, as we have seen, whether David, even when he spoke 'in the Spirit,' did foretell the resurrection of the expected Messiah; inasmuch as the 16th Psalm may have

CHAP.
IV.

Introduc-
tion.

CHAP.
IV.

been written or amended during the captivity. No other prophet who lived before this period refers either directly or indirectly to the resurrection ; whilst the after-Babylonian acknowledgment of this doctrine by the Jews is confirmed by the fact that the Sadducees refused the same, *because* it was not contained either in the writings attributed to Moses, which they considered as of an absolutely binding authority, nor in the writings of the prophets, which they acknowledged in a lesser degree. Yet before the return from the captivity, prophets had risen in Israel who confirmed the Divine origin of the doctrine of immortality. Thus the unknown and so-called evangelical prophet, whose writings are contained in the latter part of the book of Isaiah, refers to the Messiah's atoning death, and to his continued life after the same.¹ And in the last chapter of Daniel the general resurrection is clearly referred to.² Thus sanctioned by prophets, the doctrine of immortality must have been all but universally received by the Jews at the time of our Lord's advent.

It was not so with another pre-Christian doctrine, that about the Divine Spirit, Wisdom or Word, the first-born among all creatures, who was in the beginning with God, and in all ages formed the sanctifying medium of communion between the creature and the Creator. This secret or apocryphal doctrine, to which we have already referred, had not been especially owned and sanctioned by the Divine Word of prophecy. Consequently the apocryphal writings of the Jewish Church in Egypt never formed part of the Hebrew or Palestinian canon. Notwithstanding the efforts of the Essenes to popularise the apocryphal doctrine, the same was confined to the verbal tuition of a few recognised teachers, who were bound by oaths to confide it only to those who were trained for the office of a teacher, and who had passed a lengthy probation.³ Thus, by the full recognition in Alexandria of the

¹ Is. liii. 10.² Dan. xii. 2, 13.³ See 'The preaching of Peter.'

doctrine about the Divine Word, and by its non-recognition on behalf of the Jewish authorities in Jerusalem, the marked difference originated between Alexandrian and Palestinian Judaism in that period of the Jewish Church which immediately preceded the advent of Christ. In what relation to Alexandrian and to Palestinian Judaism stood the doctrine of Christ?

Forestalling the results of our subsequent investigations, we shall for the present assume that the Gospel after **Matthew** is the original apostolic exponent of those sayings of Christ which He pronounced in public, and which did not refer to the forbidden apocryphal doctrine; in contradistinction to those sayings of His which He in secret confided to His disciples, to whom He alone expounded His mysteries. And we shall further assume, that the apostolic tradition of the secret doctrine of Christ has been faithfully recorded in the fourth Gospel by the disciple whom Jesus loved, after that this Hidden Wisdom had been previously revealed by Paul, although not in the words which Christ had himself spoken. We begin by tracing out the relations between Christ and the Pharisees.

CHRIST AND THE PHARISEES.

‘The Scribes and the Pharisees sit in Moses’ seat; all therefore whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do; but do not ye after their works: for they say and do not.’¹ From this it follows that Christ did not object, at least in no essential point, to the doctrine of the Pharisees, and that he condemned only their bad example in not carrying out the precepts which they taught. ‘They bind heavy burdens and grievous to be borne, and lay them on men’s shoulders, but they themselves will not move them with one of their fingers.’² These ordinances, on the observance of which the Pharisees insisted, were not merely the Mosaic works of the

Stewards
of Secret
Tradition.

¹ Mat. xxiii. 2, 3.² xxiii. 4.

CHAP.
IV.

law, but they consisted also of the non-Mosaic ordinances sanctioned by 'the tradition of the elders.'¹ We have seen that in the pre-Christian period a verbal tradition existed among the Jews in Palestine, by the side of the written law and the writings of the prophets. This secret tradition sanctioned new doctrines and also new rites, such as those which were practised by the Essenes and Therapeuts, of which we know but little. Like the apocryphal or hidden doctrines, these apocryphal rites were not recognised within the sphere of the Jewish Church. If originally the Pharisaical party in Babylon was a dissenting body, it had joined the church and become the most influential party in the same at the time of the return, or soon afterwards. Nevertheless the Pharisees kept up the traditions of their forefathers, which the Sadducees rejected.

These Pharisaical traditions seem to have been known to the people only by a few observances, such as that of washing the hands before eating bread, which was not recognised by the disciples of Christ. The reply which He gave to the Pharisees who had complained of this irregularity, shows us that the Lord may have acknowledged in general the authority of the tradition of the elders. He does not in the outset directly oppose what is written to what is taught. Admitting that by not washing their hands before eating bread His disciples might be blamed for not doing what the representatives of Moses had bid them to do, He accused the Pharisees of much graver transgressions against the commandments of God. Thus instead of honouring father and mother by every means, and if necessary by support, the Pharisees had exempted from this divinely imposed obligation all those who spent something on a 'gift' or sacrifice, although by so doing they withdrew from their parents the support they needed. Such a person had the authority of the Pharisees for saying to his father or mother, 'it is a gift through which thou mightest have profited by me.'²

¹ Mat. xv. 2.² xv. 5.

By wrongly interpreting the Divine commandments they had made the latter 'of none effect' by their tradition, and thus did '*also* transgress the commandment of God.' Christ does not deny that the Pharisees ought to make proselytes; but although their doctrine is good their evil example disqualifies them as ministers of the true religion; so that they make a proselyte 'two-fold more the child of hell' than themselves.¹ They insist even on the performance of such deeds as the law did not expressly prescribe, such as the payment of tithes on 'mint, and anise, and cummin,' but they omit the weightier matters of the law, 'judgment, mercy, and faith: these they ought to do, and not to leave the other undone.'² The weightier matters of the law are the moral precepts, without the observance of which the law would be a dead letter and of none effect. For the law and the prophets 'hang' on 'the great commandment in the law: to love God with all the heart, with all the soul, and with all the mind,³ and to love the neighbour as oneself.⁴

Therefore, inasmuch as the weightier matters of the law, and not the letter of the same, are the true standard of a godly life, Jesus was not satisfied with the divorce by 'a writing of divorcement,' which the letter of the law permitted, but which tended to make a slave of a woman, and of her husband a tyrant, who might at any time put her away. Again, swearing was not prohibited by the law; but Christ said, 'Swear not at all.' On the other hand, whilst Moses had, according to the account in Numbers, ordered a man to be stoned to death for having gathered sticks upon the Sabbath Day,⁵ Jesus did not forbid his hungry disciples to eat of the ears of corn on that day, but considered that no less allowable than the eating of the shewbread by David and his followers, whilst persecuted by Saul. Even without the excuse of actual necessity 'the priests in the temple profane the Sabbath

CHAP.
IV.

The
Standard
of Truth.

¹ Mat. xxiii. 15.

² xxiii. 23.

³ Deut. vi. 5; x 12; Mat. xxii. 37.

⁴ Lev. xix. 18.

⁵ Num. xv. 32 f.

CHAP.
IV.

and are blameless,' according to the written law. He then who is 'greater than the temple,' and who is 'Lord of' or Master over the Sabbath, could disregard an injunction of the law, or point in self-defence to a practice of the priests in the temple.¹ And whilst the law permitted man to resist evil by evil, and thus led men to hate their enemies, these imperfections of the law were condemned and corrected by Jesus. Not the imperfections of the law, but the perfection of God, are to be the rule of men's lives.² The will of God is to be the sanctification of man. He came, as it was written, to do the will of God.³ 'Lo, I come: in the volume of the book it is written of me: I delight to do Thy will, O my God: yea, Thy law is written within my heart . . . I have not hid Thy righteousness within my heart: I have declared Thy faithfulness and Thy salvation. I have not concealed Thy lovingkindness and Thy truth from the great congregation,'⁴ 'Whosoever shall do the will of my Father which is in heaven, the same is my brother, and sister, and mother.'⁵ 'He that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven . . . shall enter into the kingdom of heaven.'⁶ For 'whatsoever a man soweth that shall he also reap.'⁷ Now, 'the seed is the Word of God,'⁸ and 'he that soweth the good seed is the Son of Man.'⁹ The kingdom of heaven is the dominion of the Divine Spirit, Word or Wisdom in the heart of man; it is the mystery of Divine sonship. By the Grace of God the Word is in man's heart: by the obedience of man the seed of the Word takes root within him, establishes a living communion with his God, and brings forth the fruit of holiness. Thus by the joint operation of free grace and free obedience the heart of man becomes the holiest of the holy.

To the merely outward religion of the Pharisees Christ

¹ Mat. xii. 1-8.² Mat. v. 31-48.³ Heb. x. 9.⁴ Ps. xl. 7-10.⁵ Mat. xii. 50.⁶ Mat. vii. 21.⁷ Gal. vi. 7.⁸ Luke viii. 11.⁹ Mat. xiii. 37.

opposed the religion of the heart. Isaiah had written : 'This people draw near me with their mouth, and with their lips do honour me, but have removed their heart far from me, and their fear toward me is taught by the precept of men.'¹ Christ regards this as a prophecy for which the Pharisees are responsible, whom he accuses of misleading the people. He sums up Isaiah's prophecy in these words : 'In vain they do worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men.'² 'Those things which defile the man . . . come forth from the heart,' and since the heart of the Pharisees is far from God, Christ says that they are *not* a plant which his heavenly Father has planted, and that every such plant 'shall be rooted up.'³ A new heart, a changed mind, are the 'fruits meet for repentance,' and without such a new birth no one will enter into the kingdom of heaven. Thus it was enough for Jesus to see in a man genuine repentance, genuine faith in the redeeming power of God, genuine love to the creature and to the Creator, in order to pronounce in the name of God perfect absolution : 'be of good cheer, thy sins *are* forgiven thee.'⁴ The Pharisees are 'blind guides,' which 'strain at a gnat and swallow a camel ;' 'who make clean the outside of the cup and of the platter, but within . . . are full of extortion and excess . . . and of all uncleanness ;' who 'outwardly appear righteous unto men, but within . . . are full of hypocrisy and iniquity ; and who cannot escape the damnation of hell.' They have not learnt that to 'err in their hearts' is to ignore the ways of the Lord.⁵

CHAP.
IV.

It is not enough to 'teach' even the 'least commandments of the law,' and not to act according to the same ; they must be taught and *done* by whosoever wishes to be 'called great in the kingdom of heaven.' Christ showed in what spirit and according to what rule they must be done. Not according to the imperfect letter of the law,

The power
of God.

¹ Is. xxix. 13.

² Mat. xv. 8-9.

³ xv. 18, 13.

⁴ Mat. ix. 2 ; comp. Luke vii. 47-48.

⁵ Ps. xcv. 10.

CHAP.
IV.Jot and
tittle.

but according to the dictates of the Spirit or power of God in man, which is able to make obedient man perfect, even as his Father which is in heaven is perfect. In this sense Christ said that He was not come to destroy the law or the prophets, but to fulfil the will of God by perfecting what was written, and correcting what was taught by men, of whom none, not even the best descendant of Adam, so fully knew 'the power of God' as He himself.¹ The Scribes and Pharisees *erred*, not because they taught the everlasting authority of the least letter (Jod) and even of every point or tittle, but because they *knew not the power of God*, which alone enables man to derive life from 'the letter that killeth.' In this sense alone can Jesus have said that he did not come to destroy the law, but to fulfil it. He fulfilled it in spirit and in truth, whilst he regarded the letter of the law not as the standard of the faith, but as a basis from which the hidden truth might be developed by the power of God, which he certainly acknowledged as the verifying faculty. It is probable that in this respect the reforming doctrine of Jesus was identical with that of John the Baptist. For 'the law and the prophets (in their literal interpretation) were until John; *since* that time the kingdom of God (the rule of the Divine power in man) is preached, and every man presseth into it.' By insisting on the lasting validity of the letter in its literal sense, the Pharisees justified themselves before men; but for all this they erred, 'not knowing the Scriptures nor the power of God.'² It is only by knowing the latter that the former can be understood. The action of the Divine power on the heart of man, and not the mere outward acknowledgment of the letter, which even the 'blind guides' could see, is the unfailing key of knowledge. 'The wise and intelligent' knew, or pretended to know, the Scriptures, whilst their heart was an abomination to God. But even 'babes' are under the influence of the revealing power of God.³ It is by being moved by the

¹ Mat. v. 17-20.² Mat. xxii. 29.³ Mat. xi. 25.

power or Spirit of God, by doing His will, that men can know whether the doctrine be of God or not.¹ By fulfilling the will of God, Jesus fulfilled the law without *at once* openly destroying it. But he longed to see it destroyed, as Paul did destroy it in his name. 'I am come to send fire on the earth; and what would I (give) if it were already kindled.'² This was the very foundation of his reforming doctrine, and it was directly opposed to the Pharisaical maxim that 'not a letter shall be abolished in the law in eternity.'³ If then we can render probable that the Apostles were after their Master's death held in awe by the Jewish rulers,⁴ and that the original apostolic record of Christ's sayings was published under the authority of the latter, and therefore after their revision, the assumption will gain ground that Jesus may never have spoken the words attributed to him about the eternal validity of every jot or tittle of the law. If he uttered those words, he meant to put a limit to the validity of *the entire written law*. *He did fulfil* it all, and thereby abrogated it.

The principal charge which Christ pronounced against the Pharisees, and not against the Sadducees, was that they 'shut up the kingdom of heaven against men,' inasmuch as they neither went in themselves, nor suffered 'them that are entering to go in.'⁵ This would seem clearly to imply that they possessed the means of opening the kingdom of heaven for themselves and for others, and yet that, by not making the right use of what was confided to their keeping, they shut up the kingdom of heaven. Thus they were 'blind leaders of the blind,' and responsible both for their own blindness and for the blindness of the people. Sitting in the seat of Moses, they ought to possess 'the key of knowledge,'⁶ which Jesus charged the lawyers to have 'taken away.'⁷ We shall see that this key of knowledge, or key of the kingdom of

¹ John vii. 17.² Luke xii. 49.³ Schemoth Rabbah 6.⁴ Acts v. 12, 13.⁵ Mat. xxiii. 13.⁶ Comp. Mal. ii. 7.⁷ Luke xi. 52.

CHAP.
IV.

heaven, was promised to Peter, and that it consisted principally in the apocryphal doctrine of the Divine sonship, which it was given to that apostle to understand and to apply to his master. The secret doctrine of the Jews was believed to have been fully known to Moses, but to have been only partially revealed to the people by him and his successors.¹ It is, therefore, not improbable that in referring to the Pharisees as sitting in the seat (or pulpit) of Moses, Christ recognised their authority² only in so far as they were the acknowledged guardians of the Hidden Wisdom, of that knowledge the key of which the Pharisees had taken away. Moreover, He did not wish prematurely to arouse the suspicion of the Pharisees against Him. Far more in accordance with the principles of Jesus were those of the Essenes, who regarded the soul, the heart of man, as the innermost sanctuary of the Divine Spirit, through which the creatures can be in direct communication with the Creator, and thus can become an organ of Divine revelation, speaking 'as the oracles of God.'³

CHRIST AND HIS DISCIPLES.

The fruit
of holiness.

The disciples of Jesus were to be known, not by their professions, but by their works, and these were not only to be the ordinances prescribed by the law, but also and above all they were to consist in the due performance of the unwritten moral precepts of the heart, of the weightier matters of the law. Jesus taught that without the lifting up of the heart every worship of God is in vain, and that the law written on the tables of the flesh must be the interpreter of the law written on the stony tables on Mount Sinai. Jesus came to do the will of God, and thus to fulfil the written law in spirit and in truth. He came to reveal the mysteries which to Moses had been partly revealed, but which that lawgiver had been obliged to hide from the people at large, inasmuch as the Israelites

¹ See 'The preaching of Peter.'² Mat. xxiii. 2, 3.³ 1 Pet. iv. 11.

could not then have borne such glories. What Moses revealed in secret and in darkness to the seventy elders of Israel, was ever of old communicated from one generation to another as 'dark sayings,'¹ by the right interpretation of which the written law of Sinai, the memorial of the will of God concerning the Israelites in the wilderness of Egypt, might be understood in its hidden completeness, and thus engraved on the heart of man, the dwelling-place of the Divine Word, of the Eternal Saviour of all.

Such knowledge as was necessary for entering into the kingdom of heaven, that is, the kingdom of the Spirit, it was difficult then to attain by those who were only led by the Pharisees, for these had taken away the key of knowledge. And yet all that was necessary for salvation was to know and to believe that the Spirit, Wisdom or Word of God had in all ages been at work in the heart of fallen man as 'the Saviour of all.' Therefore, if any man's faith in the regenerating power of this indwelling Saviour is even as small as a grain of mustard-seed, it is all-sufficient. Even 'the poor' can have this faith, and can thus be 'in the spirit.' For, if by God's Spirit they are led 'to know what is in their heart,'² if they are rich in 'the Spirit of Wisdom,'³ they are richly blessed by their poverty. Without this knowledge, without this faith, which required neither a powerful intellect nor a long course of training, nor earthly riches, the doctrines of the kingdom of heaven could not be understood. And because the Pharisees purposely hid these mysteries, the kingdom of heaven had to be proclaimed by dark parables, that is, in a mystery. Only to the few who were His disciples Christ confided 'the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven.' Their eyes are blessed for they see, and their ears for they hear, what many prophets and righteous men have desired to see and to hear, and have neither seen nor heard.⁴ But to the people it was not

¹ Pa. lxxviii. 2-8.² Deut. viii. 2.³ Deut. xxxiv. 9.⁴ Mat. xiii. 11-17.

CHAP.
IV.

given to know this; to them the Lord spoke only in parables. 'For many are called, but few are chosen.'¹ The time shall come when the Spirit of God will be shed over all flesh; when the saving knowledge shall cover the earth as the waters cover the sea. But few only are chosen as organs of the Divine Spirit, as teachers of a superhuman doctrine. What makes them to be chosen before the others, what makes them to be earlier joint heirs with Christ, is that by listening to the dictates of the indwelling Saviour, this Divine power has to them become the medium of sanctification and of direct communion with God.

'Strait is the gate and narrow is the way which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it.'² Thus the faith of the Gentile centurion was beyond what Jesus had found in Israel.³ And the faith of the Syrophenician woman was likewise the fruit of the hidden knowledge of the heart. It was not found by the Lord in Israel. For the things belonging to the peace of Jerusalem continued to be hidden from her eyes,⁴ even whilst 'the stone which the builders rejected,' had become 'the head of the corner.'⁵ The Pharisees had taken away the key of knowledge, they had forbidden the promulgation of the Hidden Wisdom, of which the doctrine about the Divine sonship formed the centre. And yet the key of this saving knowledge had been revealed to and by Abraham. 'The law which was four hundred and thirty years' later, the law of Moses, had in Israel had the tendency of annulling the Abrahamic covenant, 'that it should make the promise of none effect.'⁶ But the germs of the spirit, the seed which is the Word of God, had taken root in a soil beyond the confines of the Holy Land. Christ had come as the sower of that Divine seed, but He had first to remove the hardness of heart, in which, like the rock, the seed could not take root. He had to warn man

¹ Mat. xxii. 14.⁴ Luke xix. 42.² Mat. vii. 14.⁵ Mat. xxi. 42.³ Mat. viii. 10.⁶ Gal. iii. 17.

against the enemy, 'the wicked one,' who 'catcheth away that which was sown in his heart;' as also against the danger to which those are exposed who, having received the word, go astray on the wayside, or by tribulation or persecution, or by 'the care of this world and the deceitfulness of riches,' are likely to be offended or to become unfruitful.¹

CHAP.
IV.

Christ had come to open His mouth in parables, and to 'utter things which have been kept secret from the foundation of the world;'² to utter 'dark sayings of old,' which one generation had heard and known from another.³ For these reasons Christ could do no more than to tell His disciples 'in secret and in darkness,' about the mysteries of the kingdom of Heaven; for even they could not then 'bear' to be told all about it. What Christ could hope to do at that time was, by parables suggestively to lead a greater number of men to a gradual appreciation of these hidden doctrines. But the time would come when His true disciples, led into all truth, would preach 'upon the housetops,' what they had heard 'in the ear;' and when what He had told them 'in darkness,' would by them be proclaimed 'in light.'⁴ Christ appealed to the individual. He claimed faith in the power of God to regenerate man's heart; faith in the fundamental doctrine of the true religion, that 'with God all things are possible.'⁵ Christ taught by His words and His entire life, that God works by means; that through the Divine Spirit man may become the special instrument of God; that like the angel of His presence, the man of His presence is that man in whom is the 'name' or Spirit of God;⁶ to whom has been given a name or spirit above any other, 'to the glory of God the Father.'⁷ Through that name or spirit of adoption, obedient man will be preserved from keeping or bearing the name of God in vain. Thus the sanctifier and the sanctified are destined

The dark
sayings of
old.

¹ Mat. xiii. 1-23. ² Mat. xiii. 35. ³ Ps. lxxviii. 2-8. ⁴ Mat. x. 27.

⁵ Mat. xix. 26; comp. Mark ix. 23. ⁶ Ex. xxiii. 21. ⁷ Phil. ii. 9-11.

CHAP.
IV.

to be at one. Thus man can be born again. By the new birth, even those who are the most ignorant and the most poor may know which is the will of God concerning them. God wills the sanctification of man; the Spirit of God testifies to the spirit of man that he is a son of God, and says to him, 'My son, give Me thine heart.'¹

Messianic
expecta-
tions.

The chosen disciples of Christ had not acquired any knowledge which raised them above their countrymen; nor had they in the outset any correct idea about their Master's Messiahship. Their hopes about Him were not fulfilled. The Messianic terrestrial kingdom foretold by the prophets was not going to be set up by Jesus of Nazareth; yet this is what some, if not all of His disciples, expected to be the end of His sojourn among them. Before the terrestrial kingdom of the terrestrial Messiah can be set up in the Holy Land, the hearts of men must be turned to the kingdom of heaven, of which the Messianic kingdom on earth will be but a type. The chosen and beloved servant of God, endued with the Divine Spirit,² proclaimed the spiritual new birth as the essential condition of entering into the nearly approaching kingdom of heaven. When therefore John the Baptist sent a deputation to ask him whether he was or was not the expected Messiah, the Lord referred to His miraculous works of mercy as a sign of the beginning fulfilment.³ Because He 'cast out devils by the Spirit of God,' the kingdom of God was already then come;⁴ the kingdom of heaven is theirs who are under grace, that is, under the operation of the Divine Spirit, whilst others are being perfected for the Divine sonship.⁵

Messianic
Names.

Ever since Nathan's prophecy the expected Messiah was regarded, by some at least, as the Son of God. Now, the Pharisees had determined to put out of the synagogue any man who should declare himself to be the Christ.⁶ When asked by Pilate whether he be 'the Christ, the

¹ Prov. xxiii. 26.

⁴ Mat. xii. 28.

² Mat. xii. 18.

⁵ Mat. v. 3, 45.

³ Mat. xi. 2-5.

⁶ John ix. 22; xii. 42.

Son of God,' Jesus replied, '*Thou* hast said ;' and this acquiescing but possibly evasive reply need not be regarded as an affirmative one ; for the words which follow begin with, 'Nevertheless *I* say unto you,' and here he speaks of himself as *the Son of Man*. Jesus, in using this name, may have referred to the eighth Psalm or to Daniel's vision, or to both. In either case, and whether the book of Enoch, as we now possess it, was or was not written at that time, it may be asserted that this expression was not regarded as Messianic, either by the rulers or by the people. Knowing that by the people the name *Son of God* was exclusively applied to the promised terrestrial Messiah, Jesus preferred the non-Messianic name of *the Son of Man*. And if in solitary instances and on private occasions he declared himself to be the Christ, it was because he was conscious that the fulness of the power of God had visited the Son of Man. Because the Man Jesus was thus anointed, he was the Son of the living God. The faithful fulfilment of his mission must lead him to the cross, but the cross led him to the right hand of God.

It was Peter in whom, as later in Paul, Jesus was first revealed as the Son of God. No conferring with 'flesh and blood,' that is especially with those who were, like Paul, of the tribe of Israel and citizens of Palestine, could have revealed to him this knowledge, which is the key of all the knowledge about heavenly things. Peter was suddenly brought into direct communion with 'the Father of the Spirits of all flesh,' and thus the Apostle was initiated in the Divine sonship. He who could confess that Jesus is *the Son of the living God*, had himself become a son of God ; he who believed that he saw before him the incarnate Word or Wisdom from the beginning ; he who had been taught by supernatural tuition to know Jesus as the Christ, as the way and the door of life eternal, as Him who 'hath the key of David,'¹ and who is the dispenser of 'the hidden manna ;'² the

¹ Rev. iii. 7.² Rev. ii. 17.

CHAP.
IV.

Apostle of the rock-confession had in that very moment received the moving power of the Divine Spirit of adoption, to become the child of God, and thus joint heir with Christ. Such knowledge was too wonderful for the benighted and misled multitude. They could not at once have attained to it, even if their abject fear of the rulers of the church had not paralysed every such inquiry, had not quenched the smoking flax, the last sparks of the heavenly flame. Therefore, having promised to Peter 'the keys of the kingdom of heaven,' with which to re-open what the Pharisees, by taking away the key of knowledge, had shut up; having told the rock-Apostle that to him would be confided the key of knowledge, Jesus 'charged his disciples that they should *tell no man* that he, Jesus, *was* the Christ.'¹

Messianic
views of
Jesus.

In order fully to understand the Messianic views of Christ, it is necessary to consider the two Messianic prophecies contained in the 53rd chapter of Isaiah and in the book of Daniel, and to show their relation to the reformed Judaism which we have traced to the time of the captivity. If the doctrine of atonement through righteousness, of which the pre-Christian Apocrypha of the Septuagint are the earliest authentic exponent, had originated or become an ingredient of the national faith during the Babylonian captivity, then the unknown prophet of that time was acquainted with these principles of reformed Judaism. But if we assume that these views about the atonement were not known to him, then, by speaking 'in the Spirit' about things which were not then generally known, he confirmed the above pre-Christian doctrine on the atonement through righteousness in all ages. But whilst, according to the pre-Christian Apocrypha, it is the Divine Word or Spirit which, as 'the Saviour of all,' atones and propitiates for sin by those sacrifices and oblations of the righteous which have been at all times wellpleasing to God, these attributes of the Divine Word have, by the unknown

¹ Mat. xvi. 20; comp. viii. 4; xvii. 9.

Prophet of the captivity, been applied to a human individual, whom he reveals, not as the promised Messiah, but as the perfect instrument of the Spirit of God, the Saviour in all ages. In harmony with the apocryphal doctrine, that the righteous man, pure of sin, 'is himself a real sacrifice,'¹ he describes this man as 'the righteous servant' of God, whose soul shall *by God* be made 'an offering for sin,' and who, by 'his knowledge (or Wisdom) . . . shall justify many; for he shall *bear* their iniquities . . . ("bear the sins of many") . . . and make intercession for the transgressors.' This is the righteous servant of God, of whom the prophet has said, that 'he hath *borne* our griefs, and carried (or "laden upon himself") our sorrows.'

The Hebrew word 'nasa' has a double meaning. Like the Latin 'tollere,' it signifies at once 'to bear,' and 'to take away.' By applying to the perfect incarnation of the Divine Spirit or Wisdom, to the despised and rejected, the vicarious and atoning sacrifice of this Divine indwelling power, the evangelical prophet has identified the anointed man with the anointing medium, the effect with the cause. It is the righteous servant of God, as the impersonification or incarnation of the indwelling Saviour, who has both borne and taken away our griefs and sorrows, our sins and iniquities.

Having in a previous chapter² called the people of Israel the servant of God, the prophet here introduces the Divine messenger, the representative of God who sent him.³ To him God has given 'the tongue of the learned,' and he has opened his ear. The servant of God is 'not rebellious, neither turned away, but gave his back to the smiters,' and his 'cheeks to them that plucked off the hair,' he hid not his 'face from shame and spitting.'

¹ In the 'Zohar,' an after-apostolic Palestinian record of pre-Christian verbal tradition, we find the following passage: 'The man pure of sin is himself a real sacrifice, which may serve as atonement; and therefore the righteous are the sacrifice and the atonement of the world' (Zohar i. 65 a.)

² Is. xlix. 3.

³ l. 2-11.

CHAP.
IV.

The messenger whom God sent before His face to prepare the way before Him, he knows that God will help him, and that therefore he shall not be confounded or ashamed. 'He is near that justifieth me; who will contend with me? . . . who is he that shall condemn me? . . . who is among you that feareth the Lord, that obeyeth the word of His servant? . . . let him trust in the name of the Lord, and stay upon his God.'¹ 'Hearken to me ye that follow after righteousness, ye that seek the Lord, . . . hearken unto me my people, and give ear unto me O my nation, for *a law shall proceed from me, and I will make my judgment to rest for a light of the people.* My righteousness is near, my salvation is gone forth; . . . hearken unto me ye that know righteousness, the people (Israel) *in whose heart is my law.*'²

Jesus knew that he was the messenger of God, who by regenerating the hearts of men should prepare the way for the coming of God to man, for the coming of His Spirit to dwell and abide in the soul, the temple of His grace. Though 'despised and rejected of men,' yet he, the stone which the builders refused, shall 'become the headstone of the corner.' The 'hidden 'key of knowledge' will be the key of the kingdom of Heaven, which had already come, and of which the Messianic kingdom will be the type on earth. Jesus the Christ likewise knew that His kingdom was not of this world, that He was not to set up the Messianic terrestrial kingdom as foretold by the prophets, which should make of Jerusalem the centre of the world, and of the new Israel of all nations, the chosen nation of the Lord. He knew that although the prophets before the captivity have not seen beyond the setting up of a terrestrial kingdom, yet that by the promulgation of a higher knowledge among the Jewish nation during that period, the sphere of prophetic vision had been greatly enlarged, so as to enable them to see the setting up of a spiritual kingdom by

¹ Is. l. 8-10.

² li. 1-7.

an anointed man. Daniel had seen that an individual 'like a son of man, came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of Days,' and was brought near before him.¹ Jesus knew that He was the Son of Man who should thus be raised; and at the same time that He was the righteous Servant of God seen by the earlier prophet of the captivity, who after His atoning death should have his days prolonged, and in whose hand the pleasure of the Lord should prosper. He knew that after His resurrection and ascension to the throne of God, 'dominion and glory and kingdom' would be given Him; 'that all people, nations and languages should serve Him;' that 'His dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away,' and that His kingdom shall not be destroyed, that it is not of this world. The prophet like Moses had sown what another would reap.

What the prophets had foretold about the terrestrial Messianic kingdom was not to be fulfilled by the Son of Man. Through him the voice of the Lord had indeed spoken from Jerusalem; but it had been spoken in secret and in darkness. According to the 'sure promises' made to Abraham and David, God will bless all nations, not only by a spiritual regeneration,² but by the gathering of a new Israel, and the setting up of a model kingdom in 'the city of the great king.' Before this can be accomplished, Zion must be 'ploughed as a field, and Jerusalem . . . become heaps, and the mountain of the house as the high places of the forest.' It is not till after this event that the Messianic Israel shall be gathered from among all nations, and that 'the breaker' having come up before them, the Israel of the last days shall enter into Zion, led by their king, and Jehovah at the head of them. 'In the last days it shall come to pass that the mountain of the house of the Lord shall be established in the top of the mountains, and it shall be exalted above the hills; and people ("all the Gentiles") shall flow unto it; and many nations

Messianic
Prophe-
cies.

¹ Dan. vii. 13.

² Joel ii. 28.

CHAP.
IV.

shall come and say; come, let us go to the mountain of the Lord, and to the house of the God of Jacob; and he will teach us of His ways, and we will walk in His paths; for the law shall go forth of Zion, and the Word of the Lord from Jerusalem.'¹ This setting up of the Messianic kingdom on earth had been typified by Cyrus, 'the shepherd' of the Lord, who then performed all his pleasure.² But Cyrus was only the type of 'the branch of the Lord,' growing out of the roots of 'the rod out of the stem of Jesse';³ of the 'righteous branch,' of the 'king,' who shall reign and prosper, and shall execute judgment and justice in the earth, whose name shall be 'the Lord our righteousness.'⁴

Ezekiel describes the spiritual regeneration, the kingdom of heaven, as well as the theocracy, which in the latter days is to be established in Zion. Even in the captivity, God will be to His chosen people 'as a little sanctuary;' he will give them 'a united heart,' and will put 'a new spirit' within them; and 'will take the stony heart out of their flesh, and will give them an heart of flesh; they shall be His people, and He will be their God.'⁵ 'And I will set up one shepherd over them, and he shall feed them; even my servant David, he shall feed them, and he shall be their shepherd. And I, the Lord, will be their God, and my servant David a prince among them.'⁶ A new temple will be built; a spiritual stream, issuing forth from the same, will renew the world; the Gentiles will be received as members of the Messianic kingdom, and placed on the same footing as the members of the model-state in the land of promise. All nations 'shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.'⁷ Yet according to Ezekiel, the people that dwell in the Holy Land in the 'latter' days, safely resting

¹ Micha iv. 1, 2.² Is. xlv. 28.³ iv. 2; xi. 1.⁴ Jer. xxiii. 6.⁵ Ez. xi. 16, 19, 20.⁶ xxxiv. 23, 24; xxxvii. 24.⁷ Is. ii. 4.

there without walls, bars or gates,¹ will be in the end attacked by the prince of the north of the Armenian mountains, whose mighty army however shall be utterly destroyed.

The destruction of Jerusalem will lead to the dispersion of Israel into all the countries of the Gentiles; when 'the days of the Gentiles' shall have been fulfilled, their Babylon will fall, and this will lead to the setting up of the Messianic kingdom, of a theocracy formed by the new Israel of all nations. Referring to this time, the unknown prophet of the captivity had spoken: 'Comfort ye, comfort ye my people, saith your God. Speak ye comfortably to Jerusalem;' or more literally, 'appeal to the heart of Jerusalem,' or 'speak encouragingly to Jerusalem, and cry unto her, that her days of bondage are accomplished, that her iniquity is pardoned (reconciled), that she hath received (receives) of the Lord's hand double (a double measure) for all her sins.'² 'Arise, shine, for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee; for behold darkness shall cover the earth, and gross darkness the people; but the Lord shall arise upon thee, and his glory shall be seen upon thee; and the Gentiles shall come to thy light, and kings to the brightness of thy rising.'³ 'Thou shalt also be a crown of glory in the hand of the Lord, and a royal diadem in the hand of thy God.'⁴

It is the new Israel, the 'servant' of the Lord, which as a people will receive the mission of crying in the wilderness, 'Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight in the desert a highway for our God;' for 'all flesh' shall see the glory which shall be revealed in Jerusalem. It is Zion's 'great King' who brings good tidings, and proclaims to the world, 'Behold your God,' 'the Holy One of Israel,'⁵ who shall feed his flock like a shepherd, whose throne is the heavens, and who will

¹ Ez. xxxvii. 11² Is. xl. 1.³ Is. lx. 1-3.⁴ xlii. 1-3.⁵ xl. 9; lx. 9.

CHAP.
IV.

create a new heaven and a new earth, making Jerusalem 'a rejoicing, and her people a joy.'¹ But till this can come to pass, in the days of bondage, Israel must bear out her iniquity, and the righteous servant of God must be set before Israel and before the Gentiles as the atoning Messiah. Through his perfect righteousness, his obedience unto death, and through his knowledge, he will 'justify many.'

Although the book of Daniel, which perhaps because it contained apocryphal doctrines was not acknowledged as prophetic, has been written in the form we now possess it during the time of the Maccabees, that is, about two and a half centuries after the last prophet, yet it contains most important prophecies, which cannot possibly refer to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. Because at that time the Danielic prophecies, dating from the Babylonian captivity, were supposed to be drawing near to their fulfilment, they were then published, with such additions as were deemed necessary in order to connect the prophecies with the events of that troubled period. Thus, the visions explained from the tenth to the twelfth chapters evidently refer in part, if not entirely, to Antiochus Epiphanes. The Messianic prophecies contained in the book of Daniel are the following: In the second chapter the dream of Nebuchadnezzar is by Daniel explained to refer to a series of universal monarchies which had begun with the King of Babylon, and which should all precede the setting up of the promised Messianic kingdom. The separate parts of the fourth or Roman empire would be but superficially kept together, like iron and clay. In the seventh chapter it is shown that the last enemy of Israel's Messianic future is a little horn or power, which will be established before the great reconstruction of the kingdoms of the world: it is the Antichrist of the Apocalypse. In the ninth chapter the final duration of Israel's captivity is revealed to the prophet. The prophecy of the seventy weeks forms an

¹ Is. lxxv. 18.

exact parallel to the prophecy of Jeremiah about the seventy years, and to its historical fulfilment. Both begin with the destruction of the temple in 586 ; and whilst during the last twenty years of Jeremiah's prophecy the typical theocracy was established, so in the last twenty jubilee-periods of Daniel, that is, during the millennium proclaimed by the Seer of Patmos, will take place the setting up of the Messianic kingdom, which must be preceded by the fall of 'Babylon,' that is, of the then ruling principles in the kingdoms of the world, and by the exodus of the Israel of all nations to the holy land.¹

These Messianic prophecies were confirmed and enlarged during and after the captivity by other prophets. Haggai proclaims that in 'a little while' God will shake the kingdoms of the world, and that He will give peace in Jerusalem. Then 'the fulness of the Gentiles' shall come, and God will fill his house with glory,² whilst overthrowing 'the throne of kingdoms,' and destroying 'the strength of the kingdoms of the heathen.'³ Haggai's contemporary, Zechariah, reassures the drooping faith of the Israelites, by telling them that God's promises are sure to be fulfilled, and that His kingdom in Zion will be established, although the seventy years of Jeremiah had elapsed without accomplishing what his prophecy seemed to have promised. It had become clear that the latter does not refer to solar years ; they might represent sabbatical or jubilee periods. But the prophet insists upon it, that the return from Babylon was the typical return of the final exodus of Israel from the countries of the captivity ; that the temple then building was a type of the glorious temple which would be built in the latter days ; that the present kingdom was the forerunner of the Messianic kingdom which all expected. The visions contained in the book of Zechariah, probably written in the years 520 and 518 B.C , require to be more minutely considered, inasmuch as

¹ See the table about the seventy weeks in the last chapter.

² Hag. ii. 6-9.

³ ii. 22.

CHAP.
IV.The world
at rest.

they throw much light on the prophecies and the Messianic character of Christ.¹

The first four visions relate to the future of Messianic Israel. Four messengers² who have travelled through the different parts of the world, report to 'the Angel of the Lord' that the world is 'at rest.' So long as this is the case, the setting up of the Messianic kingdom in Zion cannot take place. For the heathen, that is 'the people' must rage, and 'the nations' must have their minds set towards 'a vain thing,' and the kings of the earth must set themselves up, and the rulers take counsel together against the Lord, and against His anointed, on the 'day' when God shall set His 'king' upon His holy hill of Zion, having begotten him as His 'Son.'³ This cannot take place, so long as 'the strength of the kingdoms of the heathen' is not overthrown; so long as the 'day' has not come, when the 'servant' of the Lord shall have been chosen 'as a signet,'⁴ to 'seal the sins, to cover transgression, to make reconciliation for iniquity, to bring in everlasting righteousness, to seal revelation and seer, and to anoint a Most Holy.'⁵ When he 'that bringeth good tidings to Jerusalem' shall have been sent to Zion,⁶ then he will say: 'Comfort ye, comfort ye my people, saith your God; speak ye encouragingly to Jerusalem, and cry unto her, that her bondage is accomplished, that her iniquity is pardoned, that she hath received of the Lord's hand double for all her sins.' That 'voice' will cry: 'in the wilderness prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight in the desert a highway for our God. Every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low, and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough places plain: and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together, for the mouth

¹ The interpretation of the prophecies of Zechariah has been freely developed as far as our new point of view would permit of it, from Hoffmann's 'Weissagung und Erfüllung,' and from his 'Schriftbeweis.' The text is a translation from Bunsen's 'Bibelwerk.'

² Ps. ii.

⁴ Hag. ii. 22-23.

⁵ Dan. ix. 24.

³ Zech. i. 8.

⁶ Is. xli. 27.

of the Lord hath spoken it.'¹ So long as Babylon is not fallen, the new Israel of all nations cannot be invited to 'come out of her';² the new Jerusalem cannot be set up as 'a light to lighten the Gentiles,' and as 'the glory of God's people Israel.' Therefore the prophet heard how the angel of the Lord prayed, saying: 'O Lord of Hosts, how long wilt Thou not have mercy on Jerusalem, and on the cities of Judah, against which Thou hast had indignation these threescore and ten years?' Upon which the angel heard from God 'good and comfortable words' in reply; and the other angel who revealed the vision to Zechariah, is told to cry out: 'Thus saith the Lord of Hosts: great is my jealousy for Jerusalem and for Zion, and I am very sore displeased with the haughty heathen; for I expressed my displeasure but a little, yet they have sharpened the misery. Therefore, thus saith the Lord: I return to Jerusalem with mercies: my house shall be built in it, saith the Lord of Hosts, and a measuring line shall be stretched forth upon Jerusalem. Further cry and say: Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, henceforth my cities shall run over with prosperity, and the Lord shall yet comfort Zion, and shall yet choose Jerusalem.'³

In the second vision⁴ the prophet sees four horns, and then four carpenters, or rather four forges; the former are the heathen powers who have scattered Israel, and the latter have come 'to cast out the horns of the Gentiles.'

Israel's
oppressors.

The third vision⁵ points out the fulfilment of the first, in which a measuring line was promised to be stretched forth upon Jerusalem, the chosen city. The prophet sees 'a man with a measuring line in his hand,' who upon being asked whither he went, replied that he went to measure the breadth and length of Jerusalem. The angel who spoke to the prophet having been joined by another angel, who came forth to meet him, the former angel was

The re-
builder of
Jerusalem.

¹ Is. xl. 1-5.

² Rev. xviii. 4.

³ Zech. i. 7-17.

⁴ Zech. i. 18-21.

⁵ Zech. ii.

CHAP.
IV.

sent by the latter angel to 'speak to this young man, saying, Jerusalem shall be inhabited without walls for the multitude of men and cattle which shall be in the midst of her. For I, saith the Lord, will be unto her a wall of fire round about, and will manifest my glory in the midst of her. Ho, ho, flee from the land of the north, saith the Lord; for I have scattered you to the four winds of the heaven, saith the Lord. Ho! Zion, thou that dwellest with the daughter of Babylon, make thy escape. For thus saith the Lord of Hosts: for the sake of the glory hath he sent me unto the heathen which have spoiled you; yea, he that toucheth you toucheth the apple of His eye. For, behold, I move my hand over you, that they become a spoil unto those that served them; and ye shall know that the Lord of Hosts hath sent me. Sing and rejoice, O daughter of Zion, for lo, I come, and I will throne in the midst of thee, saith the Lord. And many nations shall join themselves to the Lord in that day, and shall be My people; and I will throne in the midst of thee, and thou shalt know that the Lord of Hosts hath sent me unto thee. And the Lord shall take unto Himself Judah as His portion in the Holy Land, and shall choose Jerusalem again. Be silent, O all flesh, before the Lord, for He hath come forth out of His holy habitation.'

The second
Christ a
sinner.

In the fourth vision,¹ Zechariah was made to see Joshua the high priest, who, with Zerubbabel, had led the people from Babylon to Jerusalem. He stands before the angel of the Lord, and Satan, the accuser, at his right hand. But the Lord rebuked the accuser; for notwithstanding Joshua's filthy garments of sin, his iniquity shall be taken from him, and the Lord will clothe him with festive garments, and set a mitre on his head. And if Joshua will walk in the Lord's ways, and keep His 'charge,' he shall judge the house of the Lord and keep His courts, and the Lord will give him 'places to walk' (or 'freedom to move')

¹ Zech. iii.

among those that stood by, that is, among the angels. This crowned Joshua is explained as a 'type' of the servant of the Lord, the branch or zemah, the stone, through whom the iniquity of the land shall be removed in one day; when Israel shall dwell in safety in the land of promise, under the vine and the fig-tree. 'The righteous branch' in Zion will therefore be the setter up of the visible representation of God's invisible kingdom, the builder of Jerusalem with its temple and palaces; he will be the one whom God sends to bring good tidings to Jerusalem, the terrestrial Messiah, the Messianic reaper, the 'great king.' He will be a sinner, but his sins will God take from him, and clothe him with righteousness. This is the perfect righteousness of the servant of God, whom the unknown prophet had described as atoning and reigning, and whom Daniel had seen translated into heaven, but whom neither of the prophets had in any way connected with the setting up of the Messianic kingdom upon earth. The righteousness of the righteous servant will be given as a covering to the sinful servant of God, who at the end of Israel's scattering and servitude, is to set up the kingdom in Zion, which shall be an approximative type of the kingdom of God in heaven.

This distinction of two Messiahs is confirmed by the following vision.¹ The prophet sees a candlestick, having seven lamps, to each of which is transmitted, through seven pipes, the oil from the vessel on the top of the candlestick. The oil is explained as the emblem of the Spirit of God in the church. 'Not by might, nor by power, but by My Spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts.' A spiritual regeneration must therefore precede the setting up of the Messianic kingdom upon earth. As Zerubbabel had been by Haggai defined as the type of that chosen servant of God whom he would make a signet,² so Joshua was shown to Zechariah as the sinful 'branch' made righteous. It seems clear that both Zerubbabel and Joshua

The two
Anointed
ones.

¹ Zech. iv.

² ii. 23.

CHAP.
IV.

point to the same servant of God, who at the time of the overthrowing of the kingdoms of the earth shall be set up in the holy hill of Zion, as the 'Anointed' of the Lord.¹ But the main object of this vision is to point out to the prophet 'two anointed ones,' that is, two Christs or Messiahs.² These two chosen servants of God are here typified by two olive trees on the right and on the left side of the candlestick, that is, of the Spirit of God presiding over the church. How are we to interpret this part of the vision? It is perfectly clear that they are pointed out as two chosen vessels of the Divine Spirit, as special organs of the power of God, as two advocates of the Holy Ghost. Unless therefore we have no scriptural authority for distinguishing two Messiahs, the Messianic sower and his vicar the Messianic reaper, these two advocates of the Divine Spirit must be taken to point to Christ, the heavenly Messiah, and to the 'great king,' the setter up of the promised terrestrial kingdom in Zion. Whatever view may be taken of our interpretation of the Messianic prophecies in the Old Testament, it is impossible to deny that Christ spoke of 'another' advocate, whom he would ask the Father to send in His name; and that in the Revelation of John the two anointed ones seen by Zechariah are called 'the two olive-trees and the two candlesticks standing before the God of the earth,' and are more especially defined as God's 'two witnesses.' The Lord 'will give power' unto them, and they shall 'prophecy twelve hundred and sixty days.'³ Whilst therefore the 'other' comforter or advocate clearly is 'the spirit of truth,' yet the same is called 'another,' because it shall have another human organ or instrument, another man as its advocate. To this we shall presently refer more minutely. Here we have only to add that the words of Jesus, 'one soweth and another reapeth,' will be

¹ Ps. ii.

² Zech. iv. 14.

³ Rev. xi. 4-5. For the probable explanation of this term see the chapter on 'Chronology.'

in their proper place explained in the above sense, and as distinguishing from the Son of Man as 'the sower,' another man as the reaper. If then the Son of Man seen by Daniel is the same whom the Psalmists have described as 'the vine and the Man of God's *right* hand;' if he is the man who has set down at the right hand of God;¹ then the branch, the servant Zemah, the terrestrial Messiah, to whom it is promised that he shall have a place assigned to him among those who 'stand by' the Lord, may be regarded as the anointed one, who in the vision is represented as sitting by the *left* side of the Lord. For it is not possible to refer these prophecies about 'the two sons of oil,' or the 'two anointed ones,' to one and the same person. Whether therefore our view about the spiritual second coming of Christ be accepted or not, in no case can the risen Son of God be identified with the sinful Zemah, whose sin has been taken away by an angel, and who in case he shall be faithful to his charge, is promised that he shall judge or rule the house of God.

The next vision² refers to 'a flying roll,' the length and breadth of which corresponds to that of the hall of the temple. Why this? May it not refer to the time when Joshua, the Branch, the terrestrial Messiah, shall rebuild the temple? And if so, may it not refer to this future Joshua as the writer of the same? This view is somewhat confirmed by the vision of Ezekiel, which evidently refers to a similar, if not to the same subject.³ Ezekiel, into whom during the vision the Spirit of God had entered, saw a hand holding the 'roll of a book . . . written within and without,' and in which were written 'lamentations, and mournings, and woe.' Having eaten it according to the received command, it was in his mouth as sweet as honey. Now, of the written roll seen by Zechariah it is said that it contained 'the curse that goeth forth over the face of the whole earth.' It is the announcement of that Divine judgment against the king-

The
Prophetic
Word
going
forth.

¹ Ps. lxxx. 15; cx.² Zech. v. 1-4.³ Ezek. ii. 9; iii. 1-3.

CHAP.
IV.

doms of the world, which is to be the forerunner of the setting up of the eternal kingdom of God in Zion. Such announcement we should expect to be made by the servant of God in the latter days. For he cannot urge the escape from Babylon,¹ without saying to the 'daughter of Babylon' that she is 'to be destroyed';² he cannot speak encouragingly to Jerusalem and likewise to the kingdoms of the world so long as these have not 'become the kingdoms of our Lord and of His Christ.'³ Babylon must fall, that Zion may be set up. This view receives further light from another vision of Ezekiel's.⁴ The man 'clothed with linen, with a writer's inkhorn by his side,' is to go through the midst of Jerusalem 'and set a mark upon the foreheads of the men that sigh and that cry for all the abominations that be done in the midst thereof.' The man clothed with linen,⁵ that is 'with the garment of salvation,'⁶ is Joshua, that is Zemah the branch, one of the two olive branches or Anointed Ones, the man who will have a fair mitre set upon his head, and who will be 'clothed with (festive) garments.'⁷ It is the servant of God typified by Zerubbabel, whom God will make 'a signet,' or a sealing-ring, in the day when He will 'overthrow the throne of kingdoms.'⁸ It is the prophet, priest, and king of the latter days, who shall receive 'the seal of the living God,' for the purpose of sealing the servants of God 'in their foreheads.'⁹ Ezekiel saw how this chosen servant was commanded to go through the midst of Jerusalem and to seal the servants of God by a mark on their foreheads. But he also saw him having 'a writer's inkhorn by his side.' There can be, therefore, no doubt as to the fact that Ezekiel's prophecy about the man clothed with linen, and holding the roll of a book, is referred to in the prophecy of Zechariah about the flying roll. Both directly connect the flying roll with

¹ Zech. ii. 7.² Ps. cxxxviii. 8.³ Rev. xi. 15.⁴ ix.⁵ Comp. Dan. xii. 6.⁶ Is. lxi. 10.⁷ Zech. iii. 5.⁸ Hag. ii. 22.⁹ Rev. vii. 2-3; ix. 4; xiv. 1.; xxii. 4.

Jerusalem. Zechariah however was shown that this roll which is to go forth 'over the face of the whole earth,' will announce the coming judgment, the 'curse' of the Lord. It will destroy the thief and him that swears falsely. 'I let it go forth, saith the Lord of Hosts, in order that it shall enter the house of the thief, and into the house of him that sweareth falsely by my name;' and it shall settle in the midst of his house, and shall consume it, with the timber thereof and the stones thereof.'

The following vision² shows that after this judgment of the Gentiles, in conformity with a previous vision, the iniquity will be taken away suddenly. Wickedness personified by a woman sitting in the midst of an ephah is translated from the Holy Land to the land Shinar or Babylon.³ Then follows the vision of the four chariots,⁴ which shows that in the latter days when the Lord will set up his kingdom in Zion, his judgment will reach all the parts of the earth.

Jerusalem's
iniquity
pardoned.

The last vision⁵ refers to the setting up of the Messianic kingdom. Among the Jews who had remained in Babylon some had gone to Jerusalem for the purpose of transmitting their donations for the building of the temple. Their names were Heldai or the 'survivor,' Tobijah or 'my success is Jehovah,' Jedaiah or 'Jehovah recognises.' They were received in the house of Josiah, or 'Jehovah will heal' (or support), whose father was Zephaniah or 'Jehovah will keep.' Such are those sons of the captivity, the 'hidden ones' of the Lord,⁶ whom he will gather from all the countries of the captivity, who will survive the day of the setting up of the kingdom, whom God will know as his own, and whom he will heal in the day of Zion. Therefore the prophet takes the silver and gold which the sons of the captivity have brought, and

Coronation
of the
Great
King.

¹ The thief is the Antichrist who has stolen 'the holy land,' which is to be 'the portion' of the Lord. The false-swearer is he who rejects the 'name' of the Lord as then more fully revealed.

² Zech. v. 5-11.

³ Comp. Rev. xvii.

⁴ vi. 1-8.

⁵ Zech. vi. 9-15.

⁶ Ps. lxxxiii. 3.

CHAP.
IV.

makes crowns of it and proclaims that the foretold servant of God, Zemah, 'the Branch,' shall build the temple, bear the glory, or rather the royal diadem, and as a priest rule upon the throne of God, establishing peace between the temporal and spiritual government, which will be both united in his person.

Israel,
God's
flock.

The following two prophetic parts¹ refer to the new Israel as the flock of Jehovah, which he will lead as a shepherd, whilst those who are opposed to this theocracy will be destroyed. Each of these prophetic parts consists of three separate prophecies. The three first centre round the idea that Israel is the flock of the Lord. The first shows how as shepherd He will take care of it, the second how He delivers the same from the power of those shepherds who illtreat her; and in the third it is pointed out how by ingratitude towards its good shepherd it falls into the hand of the bad shepherd, in whose hands God delivers a portion of mankind. The leading thoughts of the first prophecy are these.² Babylon will fall, and Zion be set up. Tyre is pointed out as the type of Babylon in the latter days. 'Behold the Lord causes her to impoverish, and precipitates into the sea her wall of defence, and she herself is devoured with fire.' The fall of Babylon, that is, in the narrower sense, the fall of the last enemy of Israel, of the Antichrist, who as a 'thief,' has trodden Jerusalem under his feet, will be followed by the setting up of Zion. 'I encamp about mine house as a defence against attack that no one may go to and fro against the same, and that no further an oppressor pass over her: for now have I looked into it with mine eyes. Rejoice greatly O daughter of Zion, shout O daughter of Jerusalem: behold thy king cometh unto thee; He is a just and victorious one, lowly, and riding upon an ass, and upon a colt the foal of an ass. . . . And He shall speak peace unto the nations, and his dominion reaches from sea to sea, and from the river to the ends of the earth. As for

¹ Zech. ix.-xi.; xii.-xiv.

² Zech. ix.

thee also, because of the blood of thy covenant, I let loose unto thee thy prisoners out of the pit wherein is no water. Return unto high confidence ye who are prisoners of (unto) hope : even to-day I still declare, "I will render double unto thee." For I have bent Judah for me, I fill the bow with Ephraim, and rouse up thy children, O Zion, against thy children, O Greece, and make thee like the sword of a mighty man. The Lord will appear over them, and as lightning His arrow goeth forth. And the Lord God blows the trumpet, and moves with the whirlwinds of the south.'

The entry of the great King into Zion is so directly connected with the fall of Babylon and the setting up of Jerusalem, that it would be difficult to regard this prophecy as finally fulfilled by the entry of Jesus into the city, even if the word of prophecy did not clearly distinguish two Messiahs, one of which is to rule as prophet, priest, and king in Jerusalem at the end of Israel's captivity. The prophecy must be interpreted in a figurative sense. For can it be said of Jesus that he rode upon an ass and at the same time on a colt? In the prophetic language the word to 'ride' means to 'rule.' He who 'rideth upon the heaven'¹ has caused men 'to ride' over the heads of Israel,² and promised to the latter that it shall 'ride on the high places of the earth';³ Ephraim is to 'ride';⁴ and of 'the woman' that is Babylon, it is written in the Apocalypse that she *rides* upon 'the beast.'⁵ Zechariah then seems to say that one of the two anointed ones, or Messiahs, which have been shown him in a previous vision, shall rule over Israel and over its young offspring in the Gentile world, over the fathers and over the children, whose hearts will be turned towards each other in the days of the prophet Elijah.⁶

¹ Ps. lxxiii. 4. ² Ps. lxxvi. 12. ³ Is. lxxiii. 14. ⁴ Hos. x. 11. ⁵ Rev. xvii. 7.

⁶ Apparently with reference to the prophecies in Genesis, where it is said that Judah shall bind 'his *ass* unto the vine, and his *ass's* colt unto the choice vine' (Gen. xlix. 11), Justin Martyr has already explained the *ass's* colt to be the representative of the Gentiles. Mal. iv. 6.

CHAP.
IV.

The
Gentiles
without a
good
Shepherd.

In the second prophecy,¹ it is shown in what a state of delusion and wickedness the kingdoms of the world will be in the latter days of Israel's captivity, when Babylon falls, and when Israel's redemption is accomplished. 'The idols speak shadowy things, and the diviners see a lie, and the dreamers speak vanity, their comfort is a vapour; therefore they go astray like sheep, they become weak because there is no shepherd. Mine anger is kindled against the shepherds, and I will visit it against the goats. For the Lord of Hosts will visit his flock, the house of Judah, and make it like his state horse in the fight. Out of him shall come forth the corner-stone, the tent-nail and battle-bow; out of him all oppressors together. And they shall be as mighty men, treading down like street mire; and they shall fight, because the Lord is with them, and the riders on horses shall be confounded. And I will strengthen the house of Judah, and to the house of Joseph I will give the victory. And I let them return, for I have mercy upon them, that they shall be as though I had not cast them off. For I, the Lord, am their God, and will hear them. . . . Their children shall see it, and be glad, their heart shall rejoice because of the Lord. I will attract them hither, and gather them, for I am their Redeemer, and they shall increase as before. And if I sow them among the people, they shall think of me in the far countries, and they shall keep alive with their children, and return. For I bring them back out of Egypt, and I will gather them out of Assyria: into the land Gilead and Lebanon will I bring them, and it will not suffice for them. Then he passes anxiety through the sea, and smites turmoil in the waters, and all the depths of the Nile dry up, the pride of Assyria is brought down, and the sceptre of Egypt shall cease. And I will strengthen them in the Lord, and they shall walk in his name, saith the Lord.'

Overthrow
Gentile
1.

The third prophecy² further explains why it is that

¹ Zech. x.

² Zech. xi.

God's anger is kindled against the shepherds, that is the rulers who sit on the thrones of kingdoms.¹ The introductory part refers to the time when they shall be overthrown. 'Open thy gates, Lebanon, that fire may devour thy cedars! Howl, thou cypress, for the cedar is fallen, inasmuch as the glorious ones are spoiled! Howl, ye oaks of Bashan, for the impenetrable forest is fallen down. Hark! Howling of the shepherds, because their glory is spoiled. Hark! Roaring of young lions, that the pride of Jordan is spoiled.'²

CHAP.
IV.

In the following part the prophet himself represents the good Shepherd of scattered Israel, of 'the flock of the slaughter,' ruled over by the princes of the Gentile kingdoms. 'Thus saith the Lord, my God: feed the flock of the slaughter, which their buyers slay, without considering it as sin; and he that sells them says: "Praised be the Lord, for I become rich;" and none of their shepherds spare them. Yea, I will no longer spare the inhabitants of the land, saith the Lord; and lo, I deliver the men every one into his neighbour's hand, and into the hand of his king; and they shall smite the land, and I will not deliver out of their hand.'

The flock
of the
slaughter.

'Then I (the prophet) fed the flock of the slaughter, indeed the most miserable sheep. And I took unto me two staves; the one I called "loving-kindness," and the other I called "concord," and so I fed the flock.' But though he slew three shepherds,³ yet with neither of these staves could the prophet rule as shepherd of the flock. He had to cut asunder both of them, inasmuch as the price set upon the Lord by Israel was no more than the price which had to be paid for the liberation of a slave, that is 'thirty pieces of silver.' The prophet was then commanded to take the instruments of a foolish shepherd. 'For lo, I let a shepherd arise in the land,

¹ Hag. ii. 22.

² Zech. xi. 1-3.

³ These seem to refer to the kings 'Zachariah' and 'Shallum,' and to a third one not mentioned in 2 Kings xv. 8-15. See Bunsen's 'Bibelwerk,' ii. 812.

CHAP.
IV.

who shall not look after those that are being lost; that which is gone astray will he not seek, nor heal that which is wounded. He will not take heed of that which is diseased, but he will eat the flesh of the fat, and tear their claws in pieces. Woe to the false shepherd that deserts from his flock! May the sword come upon his arm and upon his right eye! His arm shall be utterly dried up, and his right eye shall be utterly blinded.'

The two staves seem to point to two good shepherds, through whose instrumentality Jehovah, the Shepherd of Israel, will lead His chosen people to the accomplishment of all the promises made to the same by the mouth of the prophets. The time had not come for either of these chosen instruments, for either of the two anointed ones, which had been shown to Zechariah. Both of these staves refer to the confirmation of the 'covenant' which God made with all His people.¹ Therefore He had to break both staves, one after another. Having broken the first stave, the prophet is shown that the good shepherd, the Anointed One who will be the first messenger of the covenant, will be rejected, and although he is the representative of God himself, he will be prized as worth no more than a slave, that is, 'thirty shekels of silver.'² The thirty pieces of silver had to be cast by the prophet 'to the potter in the house of the Lord.' To understand the hidden meaning of this passage, we must refer to Jeremiah's prophecies. The prophet having gone to the potter's house saw that 'the vessel that he made of clay was marred in the hand of the potter: so *he made it again another vessel, as seemed good to the potter to make it.*' Jeremiah is told that 'as the clay is in the potter's hand, so is the house of Israel in the hand of God,'³ and that 'as one breaketh a potter's vessel that cannot be made whole again, even so will the Lord of Hosts break the people of Israel and their city.'⁴ Yet as the potter moulds again the fragments of clay into another vessel,

¹ Zech. xi. 10² Ex. xxi. 32.³ Jer. xviii. 1-6.⁴ Jer. xix. 11.

according to his pleasure, so will the Lord do with Israel. The kingdom would be taken from them and given to another nation, but only for a time. For the Lord will again gather His people, and rebuild Jerusalem, in the days when Israel shall welcome the messenger of good tidings, who shall come in the name or spirit of the Lord. As the first messenger was set up by Him, so will He raise up the second messenger. It seems to be quite clear that here Jesus is designated as the first of the two anointed messengers, to which an earlier vision has referred.¹ The name given to the staff or sceptre, whether it be translated 'beauty,' or 'loving-kindness,' or 'mercy,' is in either case strikingly applicable to Jesus the Christ. That the second staff, 'bands' or 'communion,' refers to the second anointed messenger will be rendered more probable in the following prophecy. But here already we may point out that the staff called 'communion' is well adapted to refer to the time of Israel's gathering, when God will throne in the midst of Zion through the manifestation of His glory therein, when He will commune with Israel in the sanctuary of the heart.

The last set of prophecies² refers to the setting up of the Messianic kingdom in Zion. Here, again, Zion is opposed to Babylon. The kingdom there to be set up will be an organised theocracy, based on the principles of spirituality and universality. From first to last these distinct features are maintained. In harmony with the prophecy of Ezekiel about the confederation of the North,³ Zechariah shows that there will be a time when the Lord will destroy all the Gentile nations which come against Jerusalem.⁴ The city will then be taken, and half of its inhabitants made prisoners;⁵ yet all enemies of Israel will be destroyed or punished, unless they recognise the kingdom of the Lord in the Holy Land. Ezekiel's prophecy, which clearly refers to the same period, points to a

The
theocracy
in Zion.

¹ Comp. Mat. xxvii. 9.

⁴ Zech. xii. 9.

² Zech. xii.-xiv.

⁵ Zech. xiv. 2.

³ Ezek. xxxviii. and xxxix.

CHAP
IV.

time when Israel is 'at rest,' and dwells safely in the Holy Land, being established at Jerusalem without walls, bars, nor gates.¹ The prophecy of Zechariah, therefore, seems to refer to a time which has been preceded by the setting up of the Messianic theocracy, of which we are later told by the word of prophecy that it will be established *after* troubled times, when nation will rise against nation, but that it will not be attacked for the period of a thousand years.

What, therefore, here immediately concerns us is the description given of the spiritual and universal nature of this theocracy. It will be set up by the Lord who 'formeth the spirit of man within him.'² In that day, 'he that is feeble' among the inhabitants of Jerusalem shall be 'like David, and the house of David shall be as God, as the angel of the Lord before them.'³ Here it is clearly pointed out that the source of this strength shall be the name or Spirit of God. For of the angel of the Lord it is written; 'My name is in him.'⁴ This is confirmed by the following promises: 'Then will I pour upon the house of David, and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem, a spirit of grace and of supplication, and they (shall) look upon me whom they pierced, and they mourn for him as one mourneth for the only son, and shall weep bitterly for him as one weeps over the first-born.'⁵ 'In that day there shall be a fountain opened to the house of David, and to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, against sin and uncleanness.'⁶ The new Israel will be gathered under the banner of 'Holiness unto the Lord.'⁷

The new
Israel a
fusion.

Malachi, or 'my messenger,' is the last of the pre-Christian Messianic prophets. Already Joel had foretold that Jehovah would dwell in Zion, that his Word would go forth from Jerusalem, and that His Spirit would be poured upon all flesh. Micha. had shown that these latter days must be preceded by a scattering of Israel into all

¹ Ezech. xxxviii. 11. ² Zech. xii. 1. ³ xii. 8. ⁴ Ex. xxiii. 21.

⁵ Zech. xii. 10. ⁶ Zech. xiii. 1. ⁷ Zech. xiii. 9; xiv. 20; Ex. xxviii. 36.

parts of the world, consequent upon the entire destruction of Jerusalem. Isaiah and Jeremiah defined the king who should reign in Zion as 'the Branch of the Lord;' and Ezekiel as 'a Prince.' The unknown prophet of the captivity had described the time when dispersed Israel would be comforted in Jerusalem, when the glory of the Lord would rise upon the chosen city, and Gentiles, and kings, and all flesh would assemble there. Before this glorious time perfect righteousness must be set forth by the righteous servant, who thereby would atone for and justify many. Daniel saw that this righteous servant would be translated into heaven, there to receive a universal and eternal kingdom. Thus a regenerating and atoning, a spiritual reformer, would precede the setting up of the terrestrial kingdom in the land of promise. This is what Malachi confirms by his prophecy of the Divine messenger whom God will send, that he shall prepare the way before him. It is after this preparation by the Divine messenger that Jehovah will 'suddenly come to his temple,' and with him 'the messenger of the covenant,' in whom Israel delights. The prophet's description of the day of the coming of the Lord as the 'great refiner,' who will demand of Israel 'an offering in righteousness,' shows that it is the righteous servant of God who will be sent to prepare the way before him. It is he who will preach the true knowledge, the righteousness by faith in the Grace of God, and thus will become the stone which was to be separated from the mountain of the Lord, not by man's hand, and roll against the kingdoms of this world and destroy them. Haggai proclaimed that this destruction of the kingdoms of the world, and with it the setting up of the Messianic kingdom in Zion, which previous prophets had connected with the same, would take place in 'a little while.' Zechariah was shown in visions that the coveted kingdom in Zion could not be set up so long as the four parts of the world were at rest; but that the judgment of the

CHAP.
IV.

Gentiles and the glory of Israel would surely come. The promised 'Branch' would be king and priest, and rule over the new Israel, gathered from all nations in the land of promise. Of this great king, of the messenger of the covenant, the second Solomon, so long expected by Israel, Malachi says that he will come in the spirit and power of Elias, and that he will 'turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to their fathers,' thus making peace. Israel, the first-born of all nations, and therefore the father of them, will in those days be no more despised and rejected, but the heart of the Gentiles will be turned to Israel their father. A fusion, an intimate union on a common ground, will then be formed, to which the prophecies refer.

The daughter of Zion has long waited for the bridegroom. She has been the 'barren' which did not bear, which did not travail with child.¹ She has longed for the Messianic time when she should bear a son and call his name Immanuel, God with us.² But she knew not the time of her visitation;³ 'the dayspring from on high' which had visited her was 'hid' before her eyes.⁴ She was called Jezreel, for her children were 'scattered;' her child Lo-Ruhamah was 'not under grace,' and Lo-Ammi 'not my people.' But there is a remnant. Judah is under grace; for 'the Lord will have mercy on the house of Judah and will save them;' and through them Israel also, whose sons are no more to be called 'not my people,' but 'sons of the living God.' And 'then shall the children of Judah and the children of Israel be gathered together, and appoint themselves one head, and they shall come up out of the land.'⁵ A brotherly union shall then be formed in the house of Abraham between the sons of Abraham in the flesh and the sons of Abraham in the spirit. Both recognise their common origin in the 'root of Jesse,' the holy firstfruit; the vine whose root is holy, and whose 'branches' are to be holy.⁶ Two brethren, who have

¹ Is. liv. 1.² Is. vii. 14.³ Luke xix. 44:⁴ Luke i. 78; xix. 42.⁵ Hos. i. 11.⁶ Is. xi. 1; Rom. xi. 16; John xv. 1-10.

hitherto not lived together in unity, two sons of Abraham, a circumcised and an uncircumcised one, representing the Israel and the Juda of the Messianic time, now form the brotherhood of the new Israel. 'A man shall take hold of his brother of the house of his father, saying: Thou hast clothing (or garments), be thou our ruler, and this ruin (let it be raised up) under thy hand.'¹ And the daughter of Zion shall say: 'I will greatly rejoice in the Lord, my soul shall be joyful in my God; for He hath clothed me with the garments of salvation, He hath covered me with the robe of righteousness, as a bridegroom decketh himself with ornaments, and as a bride adorneth herself with her jewels.'² For 'the Lord sent a word into Jacob, and it hath lighted upon Israel.'³ Now, the barren daughter of Zion breaks forth into singing, 'for more are the children of the desolate than the children of the married wife; . . . her seed shall inherit the Gentiles, and make the desolate cities to be inhabited.'⁴ Thus saith the Lord unto the daughter of Zion: 'thy Maker is thine husband; the Lord of Hosts is His name: and thy redeemer the Holy One of Israel; the God of the whole earth shall He be called.'⁵ 'The virgin of Israel'⁶ has conceived and born a son, whose name is God with us. And the new-born Immanuel-Israel of all nations, exclaims: 'Unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given; and the government is upon his shoulder; and his name (or spirit) is called: Wonderful-Counsellor, the Mighty Hero, the Everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace.'⁷

The Lord has sent unto Jerusalem 'one that bringeth good tidings.'⁸ Thus saith the Lord: 'I have raised him up in righteousness (mercy), and I will direct (make plain) all his ways; he shall build my city, and he shall let go my captives, not for price or reward, saith the Lord of Hosts.'⁹ It is the crowned servant of God, Zemah, or 'the Branch'; one of the two 'olive branches,' one of the

¹ Is. iii. 6. ² Is. lxi. 10; lii. 1. ³ Is. ix. 8. ⁴ Is. liv. 1-3. ⁵ Is. liv. 5.
⁶ Jer. xviii. 13. ⁷ Is. ix. 6. ⁸ Is. xli. 27. ⁹ Is. xlv. 13.

CHAP.
IV.

'two anointed ones,' who shall 'stand by the Lord of the whole earth.'¹ It is the Messianic reaper in 'the city of the great king.' He shall prosper in the latter days of Israel's servitude, when the Lord who has been 'sore displeased with the heathen,' shall have 'returned to Jerusalem with mercies,'² when the time of Israel's 'redemption' shall have drawn nigh.'³

Relation
between
Jesus and
the Great
King.

So far as the heavens are above the earth, so far as the weightier matters of the law are above the works of the law, so far is the 'kingdom of heaven' beyond the Messianic terrestrial kingdom seen by the earlier prophets; so far also is the heavenly Messiah above the terrestrial Messiah, the Messianic sower above the Messianic reaper. The setting up of the terrestrial Messianic kingdom is reserved for the end, when 'the saints of the Most High shall take the kingdom, and possess the kingdom for ever, even for ever and ever.'⁴ But even then this will only be 'the kingdom *under* the whole heaven,' which as a type of the kingdom of heaven, is destined to become one with it. The heavenly Messiah has already opened the heavenly kingdom; and although for its final accomplishment, the setting up of the terrestrial kingdom is requisite, yet the door is opened, the key of knowledge, the key of the kingdom of heaven is restored; the latter has already come for all who are moved by the Spirit of God.

Daniel.

The apocryphal doctrine about the Divine Wisdom, Word or Spirit, which was in the beginning with God, although, as we have seen, fully recognised in the Church of Alexandria, was not recognised by the authorities in Palestine. And yet the writings contained in the book of Daniel show that the writer was well versed in the principles of apocryphal or reformed Judaism. It is written that Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, ordered that certain of the children of Israel, 'in whom was no blemish, but well favoured, and skilful in all wisdom and cunning, in *knowledge*, and understanding *science*,' were to be

¹ Zech. iv. 14. ² Zech. i. 15, 16. ³ Luke xxi. 28. ⁴ Dan. vii. 18, 27.

taught '*the learning* and tongue of the *Chaldeans*.'¹ Of Daniel it is especially remarked, that he was endowed 'with counsel and wisdom,' and that he acknowledged that God 'giveth wisdom unto the wise,*and knowledge to them that know understanding.'² If, then, the apocryphal doctrine about the Divine Wisdom, which in the beginning was with God, and in all ages was sent to man, to make him the friend and Son of God, can be traced to Babylon, then Daniel must have been acquainted with it, since he was instructed in the knowledge of the Chaldeans, as Moses had been instructed in the knowledge of the Egyptians. And although in the book of Daniel no direct allusion is made to this, yet the vision about one like a Son of Man may already by Daniel have been understood to stand in some connection with this doctrine.

These prophetic views of Daniel about the Son of Enoch. Man were in the last pre-Christian times more fully developed, as we have pointed out, in the apocryphal book of Enoch. Whilst Daniel speaks only of one like a Son of Man, the writers of the book of Enoch refer to '*the Son of Man*,' who has been 'with' God ever since the beginning; He is above every creature, and even above the angels. He possesses the Hidden Wisdom of the Lord, and perfect righteousness; He will appear on earth in order to judge the same, and to bring down the kingdom of the heavens. He will destroy the Gentile powers, judge the living and the dead, and destroy the unrighteous. Then all the mighty ones will bow before him; He will establish the Church of the saints; heaven and earth will be renewed, and the Son of Man will live in eternal glory with His chosen ones, which He has joined unto Himself.

Various hands have at different times been employed in the composition of this work; but we cannot accept the suggestion, either that the entire work was written in the second century, or that the section referring

¹ Dan i. 3, 4.² ii. 14, 21, 23.

CHAP.
IV.

to the Son of Man is an interpolation dating from the Christian period. We have tried to show that the doctrine about the imperfect incarnations of the Divine Word in all ages, for the purpose of raising sons of God among sons of men, is a pre-Christian hidden doctrine; that Daniel, the prophet of the Son of Man, must have been well acquainted with the same; and that among the guardians of secret tradition many must have applied the vision of the ascending Son of Man to the expected Messiah. The book of Enoch proves that in the last pre-Christian time translated Enoch was expected to return accompanied by Elijah, at the time of the great judgment, after which the Messianic kingdom in Zion was to be set up by an earthborn Messiah. Among the sons of God on earth will be an anointed one, an especial instrument in God's hand, a chosen human advocate of the Divine 'Word' or Spirit of God. 'The Lord of Hosts and His Son,' that is the Son of Man, or 'translated Enoch,' 'will unite themselves unto them for ever.' Here we have also to refer to the fourth book of Ezra, containing the apocalypse of Ezra, written by a Pharisee in the reign of Nerva, between the years 96 and 98 A.C. No mention is made of Jesus, whilst the Messiah-king of the seed of David, who has been invisible to man until the latter days, is expected to come soon, and before the final judgment, accompanied by such men as Enoch and Elijah, to rule on earth during a limited period of 400 years, when 'the Son of God' will die. At a certain time he will descend in the clouds of heaven, and rest on Zion's hill, whilst Jerusalem becomes the city of the ten tribes.

Conclu-
sion.

Referring to our foregoing investigations, we arrive at the following conclusions:—

1. Before the Babylonian captivity all Messianic prophecies referred to the setting up of a terrestrial kingdom, ruled over by an anointed human individual.
2. Under the influence of the apocryphal doctrine about the Divine Word as the willing Saviour of all in all

ages, later prophets were led to see a righteous and holy servant of God, and a Son of Man translated from the earth into the presence of God.

3. Two anointed ones or Messiahs were revealed after the captivity, of whom one is designated as the prophet, priest, and king in Zion.

4. Although the book of Enoch principally dwells on the translated Son of Man and his expected spiritual return, yet it clearly distinguishes from the same a chosen human advocate of the Divine Word as the King in Zion.

5. Up to the commencement of the Christian era there is nowhere to be found any trace of a conception of an eternally existing personal Son of God, that is of an absolutely supernatural Messiah.

6. Jesus proclaimed himself to be the Son of Man, that is the Son of the living God, the incarnate Word, the heavenly and not the terrestrial Messiah. He was the Messianic sower, who promised that after his resurrection he would pray the Father to send another advocate of the self-same Spirit of truth.

7. The mystery of the seventy weeks must have been known to Jesus, as it probably was known to Daniel. But it was not for the people, nor even for the disciples, to know 'the times or the seasons (of the terrestrial kingdom) which the Father hath reserved to his power.'¹

We shall later point out whether and to what extent the views contained in the book of Enoch may have been influential in shaping the expectation about the second coming of Christ. It is evident that the disciples of Jesus, as a body, were not acquainted with the apocryphal doctrine, which had been purposely hidden from the people by the Pharisees. Perhaps not one of the twelve Apostles originally expected any other than the terrestrial Messiah who should set up the kingdom of Jerusalem. To them the doctrine of the Divine Word had to be taught in secret and in darkness. And they were taught the same,

¹ Acts i. 7.

CHAP.
IV.

as also all the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven which they could then bear, by Him who was Himself the incarnate Word from the beginning, the personified Saviour of all, the man raised to the Godhead.

We conclude with a quotation from Calvin's works. 'If one does not wish to deny that Christ has been made a true man, one must not be ashamed to confess that he has voluntarily subjected himself to all the things which cannot be separated from the human nature.'¹ After quoting this passage, a profound theologian adds: 'Ignorance, strife, and progress are inseparably connected with the human nature the most pure, and the most holy.'²

CHRIST AND THE JEWS.

Christ the
teacher.

Jesus taught with such 'power' (not 'authority'), and so contrary to the manner of the Scribes or the learned in Scripture, that 'the people were astonished at his doctrine.'³ Whilst He abstained from attending the temple service, it was 'His custom' to go 'into the synagogue on the Sabbath day,' where He invariably, as it seems, 'stood up for to read.' On such occasions, it would appear, that the council of elders presiding over the synagogue, or some other person of lower rank, handed one of the books of Holy Writ to him who was to interpret the same. It is probable that the interpreting Rabbi had the choice of the book out of which he wished to read and interpret a passage; for in the account of his teaching in the synagogue of Nazareth, it is written that having closed the book, 'he gave it again to the minister (or rather to the "servant"), and sat down.' We shall later point out that the most influential teachers and interpreters of Scripture belonged to the *tanaïms* or teachers of tradition; that is, to the doctors of the oral Targum, which formed the standard of interpretation in the synagogues, although the public reading of any part of the same was strictly forbidden. Again, we shall show that, according to several

¹ Calvin, Com. on Luke ii. 40.

² Colani, 'Jésus Christ et les Croyances Messianiques de son Temps.'

³ Mat. vii. 28, 29.

inferences contained in the fourth gospel, Jesus was an acknowledged teacher of this class, and that, in accordance with what seems to have been a general custom, He was as such called by the distinguishing name of Rabboni. 'The eyes of all them that were in the synagogue were fastened on Him' as soon as He began his interpretation, at the end of which, even in His native city, where He had the least chance of being accepted as a prophet, 'all bare Him witness (or "praised Him"), and wondered at the gracious (or "blessed") words which proceeded out of His mouth.' They all felt that He spoke not of himself, but in the highest sense of the word as 'the oracle of God.'¹ Yet as soon as He had reproved them, 'all they in the synagogue . . . were filled with wrath,' and made a plan to 'cast Him down headlong' from the brow of the hill whereon their city was built.² The people of the Jews might well ask, 'Who is this Son of Man?' for only to the initiated in the secret tradition of their forefathers could it be known that, by calling Himself the Son of Man, Christ identified Himself with the Divine Word, which, as the first-born among all creatures, was in the beginning with God. For this reason He spoke to the people in parables only. By so doing He wished to convey to His countrymen, in a legal manner, the leaven of a truth, the spreading of which the leaders of the Jewish church at all times prohibited. Jesus had, therefore, to consider how the nearness of the kingdom of heaven could be announced without alarming the Pharisees, and without giving rise to the suspicion that the man who proclaimed it considered Himself as the Son of God. It was only possible peaceably to do so by speaking to the people in parables exclusively.³ Thus, though they saw the Son, they in fact saw him not; and though hearing some of the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, they neither heard nor understood them. And thus the Isaianic prophecy was fulfilled;⁴ 'for this people's heart is waxed

¹ 1 Peter iv. 11.² Luke iv. 16-30.³ Mat. xiii. 34; comp. Luke xii. "⁴ Is. vi. 9.

CHAP.
IV.

gross, and their ears are dull of hearing, and their eyes they have closed, lest *at any time* they should see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and should *understand with their heart*, and should be converted, and I should heal them.¹

From this it clearly follows that though Jesus would gladly have gathered the people of the Jews together, as the indwelling Saviour of all had been striving to accomplish in times of old,² their hardness of heart, in consequence of which at least some of the law's precepts were given, had, under the baneful influence of their leaders, increased to such an extent that they could not at any time during his stay on earth be brought nearer to God. They were as a nation incapable of understanding with their hearts the necessity of that spiritual regeneration without which no one can enter into the kingdom of heaven. Like the sun, which melts the wax but hardens the clay, Jesus could produce an impression on the few whose hearts were capable of receiving His influences. But the people as a whole, shut off from that knowledge, which would have brought them under the operation of the Divine Spirit, were wanting in that faith in the power of God which is necessary to salvation.

Even among the disciples of Jesus there were but few who had so fully understood His doctrine as to be able to preach unaided 'the gospel of the kingdom . . . in all the world, for a witness unto all nations.'³ For although in the Gospel after John it is recorded⁴ that some of His disciples recognised Him at once as the Messiah, it was not till some time after that the true Messiahship of Jesus was revealed suddenly to Peter by God himself. On the rock of Peter's inspired confession Jesus promised to build His universal Church ; and from that time we may assume that this mystery, more fully

¹ Mat. xiii. 13-15.

² For the fuller development of this see 'The Gospel after Luke,' No. 6.

³ Mat. xxiv. 14.

⁴ John i. 40 f.

revealed by Christ himself whilst He spoke in secret and in darkness, was more or less understood by all His disciples. But as He charged those whom He healed of their diseases not to tell any man that He was the Christ, to whom healing powers had been attributed by the prophets; so did He charge his disciples not to divulge at once the secret of the Divine sonship, which made him 'Jesus the Christ.'¹ And since the people, and still more their rulers, were in such an inconvertible state, He foretold to His disciples that they would go among them 'as sheep in the midst of wolves.'² They would be delivered up by the people of the Jews to their 'councils,' and scourged in their 'synagogues,' yea they would be 'brought before governors and kings' for His sake, 'for a testimony against them and the Gentiles.' But in these trials and tribulations they would be taught and comforted by the Spirit of their Father, which speaks in them. Only the regenerated know this Divine Comforter, who then spoke through Jesus to His disciples, and who, according to the Apostles' later belief, would again reveal Himself to them and to the world, to Jews as well as Gentiles, as the Son of Man, returning to the earth with the clouds of heaven. Till then they were only to go over 'the cities of Israel,' and not 'into the way of the Gentiles,' nor 'into any city of the Samaritans,' but exclusively to 'the lost sheep of the house of Israel.'³ Until this event the Spirit of their Father would supply them with every needful gift for the preaching of the gospel of the kingdom among the Jews. He did not tell them clearly that 'the mystery among the Gentiles'⁴ would with his direct authority be preached by one not of their number before the destruction of Jerusalem.

CHRIST AND THE APOCRYPHA.

We must now consider somewhat more minutely the relation between the doctrine of Christ and the principles

¹ Mat. xvi. 20. ² Mat. x. 16. ³ Mat. x. 5, 6, 23. ⁴ Col. i. 26, 27.

CHAP.
IV.

Apocryphal doctrines.

of apocryphal or secret tradition which form the groundwork of that reformation of the national-Israelitic faith, the commencement of which we have traced to the time of the Babylonian captivity.

In the first place, Jesus taught the living God to be one and invisible. He is the Supermundane Creator, whose throne is in the heavens, and whom 'no man hath seen at any time.'¹ He is 'a Spirit,' and sends down His Spirit from above to be with man below. He is the 'One' who alone is good.² So far His doctrine is identical with the pre-Christian Apocrypha. In the second place, Jesus acknowledged and identified Himself with the Wisdom, Word, Grace, Power, or Spirit of God, which in the Apocrypha is described as the atoning Mediator between God and man, the Saviour who in all ages takes away the sins of the world, and makes of sons of men sons of God. Again, the apocryphal doctrine about angels and evil spirits is sanctioned by the recorded doctrine of Christ; and so likewise is the pre-Christian doctrine of justification and atonement by the grace of God. This will be minutely considered in our gospel investigations. But here already we may assert that all the leading principles of Hidden Wisdom, which to a certain extent seem to have been developed from Chaldæan, that is Aryan, traditions, received of Christ their highest sanction, development, and application.

Christ the Word.

But whilst thus fulfilling some of the latest Messianic prophecies, Christ did not, as we shall later point out, in any way confirm any of the Alexandrian speculations of Philo, his contemporary. He neither declared Himself a 'second God,' nor an absolutely superhuman individual, who had given up for a little while His celestial abode, and who was by His resurrection to return to the same. The idea of a personal existence before the days of His flesh, to which not a single prophecy refers, never could have entered into His mind. What He would recognise as

¹ John i. 18; 1 John iv. 12.² Mat. xix. 17.

eternal was His spiritual nature, the Spirit of God which was in Him. In a measure, the same Divine Spirit has in all ages, according to God's grace, been poured on all flesh. Because of His perfect obedience, this Divine element met with no opposition in the Man Jesus. His Spirit was one with the Spirit of God, which he received without measure; so that He was the perfect incarnation of the same, in every sense essentially identical with the Holy Spirit from above.

One of the strongest proofs that this was the case may be derived from the fact, to which we shall refer more minutely, that certain words recorded by Matthew as having been spoken by Jesus, are in Luke's gospel stated to have been spoken by 'the Wisdom of God;' ¹ that is, by Him who was the perfect human organ of the divinely 'Inspired Wisdom,' which, according to Eusebius, the contemporaries of Christ were privileged to hear. ² Jesus has identified Himself with the Divine Word. He has not only been the secret instrument, but the glorious manifestation of the same. He has not only taught, but He has lived the Word from the beginning. The spiritual perfection of His character was the combined effect of Divine grace and of human obedience. Being thus in absolute unity with God the Father, He heard His words and did His works. Therefore He invited His brethren, who were burdened by the yoke of sin, to come to Him, to take upon them His easy yoke, to learn of Him, and so to find rest unto their souls. As if to suggest His being not only the perfect Advocate, but the Incarnation of the Divine Wisdom or Word from the beginning, He used almost the very words which had been recorded centuries before Him, as referring to the Wisdom of God.

In the book of Jesus Sirach, called Ecclesiasticus, probably the most ancient of the apocryphal books, that is of those which contained the Hidden Wisdom, the writer exclaims: 'I will thank Thee, O Lord and King, and

¹ Luke xi. 49 f.² II. E. iii. 32.

CHAP.
IV.

praise Thee, O God my Saviour ; I do give praise unto Thy name. . . . I called upon the Lord, the Father of my Lord. . . . When I was young . . . I desired wisdom openly in my prayer. I prayed for her before the temple, and will seek her out even unto my end. I bowed down mine ear a little unto her, and received her, and gat much learning.¹ . . . I profited therein, therefore will I ascribe the glory unto Him that giveth me wisdom. My soul hath wrestled for her, and as she caused me hunger, I searched diligently. . . . I directed my soul unto her, and I have had my heart joined with her from the beginning. Through purity I found her, therefore shall I not be forsaken (by her). My inward parts were moved to seek her ; therefore (with her) I gained possession of a costly treasure. The Lord gave me a (learned) tongue for my reward, and I will praise Him therewith. Draw near unto me, ye unlearned, and dwell in the house of learning. Wherefore are ye satisfied to do without these things, seeing your souls are very thirsty ? I opened my mouth and said : Buy her for yourselves without money. Put your neck under the yoke, and let your soul accept instruction : she is hard at hand to find. Behold with your eyes how that I have but little labour, and have gotten unto me much rest. . . . Get learning as a great sum of silver, and with her possess ye much gold. Let your soul rejoice in the mercy of God, and be not ashamed of His praise. Work your work betimes (or “ ere it be time”), and in His time He will give you your reward.’²

The soul of Christ did rejoice ‘in the Spirit’ or mercy of God, when His lips uttered these words ; ‘I thank Thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because Thou hast hid these things from the wise and intelligent, and hast revealed them unto babes. Even so, Father, for so it seemed good in Thy sight. All things are delivered unto Me of My Father ; and no man knoweth the Son but

¹ Comp. Is. l. 4 ; Ps. xl. 6.² Eccl. li. 1, 10, 13-30.

the Father, neither knoweth any man the Father save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal Him. Come unto Me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden; and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you and learn of Me; for I am meek and lowly in heart: and ye shall find rest unto your souls. For my yoke is easy and my burden is light.'¹

Thus the Incarnate Word or Wisdom praised Himself, and gloried in the midst of His people. In the congregation of the Most High He opened His mouth and triumphed before His power.² For the Spirit, or Wisdom, or Word from the beginning was upon Jesus. The Lord had anointed Him to preach glad tidings unto the meek; had sent Him to bind up those whose hearts are wounded, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound; to proclaim a year of mercy from the Lord.³ The Divine Word, which in the beginning 'came out of the mouth of the Most High;' which had 'served before Him in the holy tabernacle;' which had thus been 'established in Zion;' which had rested with power in Jerusalem the beloved city; which had taken 'root in an honourable people, even in the portion of the Lord's inheritance;' which, 'as the vine,⁴ brought forth pleasant savour;' which had said: 'Come unto Me all ye that be desirous of Me, and fill yourselves with My fruits;' and again: 'I will pour out doctrine as prophecy, and leave it to all ages for ever; behold that I have not laboured for myself only, but for all them that seek wisdom:' that Word which was in the beginning with God, and was God, had tabernacled in the bodily sanctuary of the Man Jesus; it had become flesh, and dwelled as man among men.

The mystery of Christ's incarnation does not lie in His human, but in His Divine nature. There was no 'organic difference between Him and all men.' It is not humanity,

¹ Mat. xi. 25-30.³ Is. lxi. 1, 2; Luke iv. 18.² Comp. Eccl. xxiv.⁴ Comp. Eccl. xxiv. 16 f.

CHAP.
IV.

but divinity, which existed in Jesus 'under conditions which are found nowhere else.' Communion with God, 'the most exalted spiritual privilege, . . . Jesus Christ possessed . . . in a higher degree than it was ever possessed by man.' And *therefore* 'we do not wonder at moral peculiarities, which would otherwise be confounding.'¹ As He was absolutely one with the Father, so He was absolutely one with all men. According to the flesh, He was made of the seed of David; but according to the spirit of holiness He was declared the Son of God.² As such He was predestinated in the beginning; as such, as true man and true God, He came in the fulness of time; and as such He sits on the right hand of God.

Whilst the doctrine of a personal pre-existence of Christ cannot be derived from the Old Testament, every passage apparently referring to the same in the New Testament may be explained, and in our opinion must be explained, by His absolute union with the Father, through the Eternal Spirit of God.

Christ the
Lamb.

Nor did Christ regard His atonement in any other light than in that in which the prophet of the captivity had foretold the same. Ever since 'righteous Abel' has righteous blood been shed; but in no one single instance are the righteous in the pre-Christian period referred to as having atoned by their blood. If we accept as historically true the words recorded in the Gospel after Matthew, as having been spoken by Christ during His last passover, Christ has Himself, like Paul after Him, substituted His blood for the blood of the paschal lamb. From that time the paschal rite was no longer, by the slaying of the yearly lamb, to be connected with the atonement pre-

¹ See the beautiful Essay by Young, entitled 'The Christ of History.' We regret to have to record our dissent from the author as regards his explanation of this mystery; but we entirely agree with him that, 'it is only by the admission of the real union of Divinity with the human soul of Jesus Christ that a solution can be found of historical and psychological difficulties, which are otherwise as insurmountable as they are undeniable' (p. 185).

² Rom. i. 3, 4; ix. 5.

ceding the redemption from Israel's house of bondage. It was to be henceforth celebrated in remembrance of the redemption from the bondage of sin and death, by the perfect and all-sufficient atonement of the life-blood of Christ, which instead of the blood on the altar, 'maketh an atonement for the soul.'¹ As the Incarnate Word, Jesus invites His followers to come and eat of His bread, and drink of the wine which He has mingled.² Therefore bread and wine were to be the sole elements for the typifying of this great mystery.³

It cannot be objected that if Christ did thus designate Himself as the Lamb of God, this designation would have been recorded by the first three evangelists, or at least by Paul. For the promulgation of such a doctrine the time was not then ripe; and as to Paul, he does indirectly but clearly identify Christ with the Lamb of God. However, in the Levitical as in the Christian rite, the blood was merely a sign or token of salvation; and it is in this sense, as 'a sign of salvation,' that the Son of Man was lifted up like the serpent in the wilderness. As none of the prophets have referred to the Messianic atonement by blood; as the apocryphal doctrine, which Christ sanctioned and taught, especially protested against such atonements as displeasing to God; as Paul's doctrine can be proved to be a mere formal deviation from the principles of the pre-Christian Hidden Wisdom, and such an one which under existing circumstances he could not avoid; and as in the Gospel after John, the mystery of the bread and wine is spiritually interpreted in accordance with the apocryphal doctrine; it is not possible to establish as a fact that Christ has regarded His death alone, and there-

¹ Lev. xvii. 11.² Prov. ix. 5.

³ Although Jesus Christ did eat the paschal lamb with His disciples, yet His participation in any of the prescribed temple-rites is not recorded even in a single instance. It is not improbable that in this respect also He sanctioned the practice of the Essenes. Epiphanius informs us, that according to the Gospel of the Ebionites Christ said: 'I am come to put an end to sacrifices, and if ye do not cease to sacrifice the wrath (of God) will not leave you' (Nær. xxx. 16).

CHAP.
IV.Christ the
Saviour.

fore in this sense His blood, as the means of a necessary atonement for the sins of the world.

Christ came, as it is written, to do the will of God. In the fulness of time the man was born, lived and died, who in not opposing by his own will the inwardly revealed will of God, became the Son well-pleasing to the Father, the perfect human organ or advocate of the Divine Spirit, became identical with the same, became the heavenly Messiah, 'the Saviour of all.' God spake by His Son. This Divine mission of the righteous servant of God, of 'the Son of Man,' so far as it was confined to the earth, could not be eternal. But after his death, through the divinely wrought resurrection, the Son of God was to be translated to the throne of God, there to live and rule for evermore at the right hand of the Father. He was taken up into the presence of the Ancient of Days, and there was invited, as David saw in the Spirit, to sit on His right hand.¹ By 'the right hand of God,' we find in the Bible invariably expressed His power. God's right hand 'spanned the heavens;'² God saves them that trust in Him by His 'right hand;'³ by 'the saving strength' of His right hand the anointed is saved;⁴ the right hand of God is 'full of righteousness;'⁵ it has 'planted a vineyard,' and is on 'the man' of His right hand.⁶ In Proverbs the right hand of Divine 'Wisdom' is interpreted as the medium of immortality, for 'length of days is in her right hand.'⁷ Christ said that the Son of Man would sit 'on the right hand of power;'⁸ and in the Acts it is stated, that Jesus was 'by the right hand of God exalted,' and 'made . . . both Lord and Christ.'⁹ Again, Christ actually identifies the right hand of God with the Divine Spirit, when He declares in one passage that He drove out devils 'by the Spirit of God,'¹⁰ and in another, that He

¹ Ps. cx. i. ² Is. xlviii. 13. ³ Ps. xvii. 7; xlv. 3; cxxxviii. 7; cxxxix. 10.

⁴ Ps. xx. 6; xviii. 35.

⁵ Ps. xlviii. 10.

⁶ Ps. lxxx. 15, 17.

⁷ Prov. iii. 16.

⁸ Mark xiv. 62; xvi. 19; Acts ii. 36; Rom. viii. 34; Eph. i. 20; Col. iii. 1; Rev. i. 16.

⁹ Acts ii. 33, 36.

¹⁰ Mat. xii. 28.

did so by 'the finger of God.'¹ Finally, in the Apocrypha as in Proverbs, the right hand of God is shown to be the saving and protecting power, and the medium of immortality, that is, the Wisdom or Word of God. 'The righteous live for evermore, their reward also is with the Lord, and the care of them is with the Most High. Therefore shall they receive a glorious kingdom, and a crown of beauty from the Lord's hand; for with His right hand shall He cover them, and with His arm shall He protect them.'²

The right hand of God, that is the Divine Spirit, has in all ages striven to influence man for good; but especially it has been stretched forth towards Israel, the 'vine' which God brought out of Egypt, and 'planted' in the land of promise. Therefore the Psalmist exclaims: 'Return . . . O God of Hosts; look down from heaven, and behold and visit this *vine*, and the vineyard which Thy right hand hath planted, and the *branch* that Thou madest strong for Thyself.'³ Jesus declared himself to be the vine, and his disciples the branches.⁴ He promised 'another' advocate of 'the spirit of truth,' of which he was the *perfect* incarnation. Like the 'vine,' the 'branch'⁵ will be sent by the planter of the vineyard Israel, as the chosen Messiah whom God will make strong unto Himself. To be 'chosen' by God means to have received the gift of His 'name,' that is, of His indwelling Spirit. The Messiah was to be at a chosen time the chosen One among the chosen people; the Holy One among a people to whom God had said: 'Be ye holy, for I am holy.' As Israel was chosen, so the Messiah of the latter days will be chosen. Israel was chosen through the instrumentality of the Divine Spirit, Word or Wisdom, which had taken root in an honourable people, and therefore had rested there.⁶

¹ Luke xi. 20; comp. Ex. viii. 19.

² Wis. v. 15, 16. In 'The Preaching of Peter' the right hand of God is identified with the Divine Spirit, Wisdom or Word; and the above extracts show that there is sufficient Bible authority for this.

³ Ps. lxxx. 14, 15. ⁴ John xv. 5. ⁵ Jer. xxiii. 5. ⁶ Eccl. xxiv. 12.

CHAP.
IV.

Thus God was sanctified in Israel, by 'a *new spirit*' having been put 'within' them, after that they had profaned the '*name*' of God among the heathen.¹ His '*glorious arm*' made Himself 'an everlasting *name*;' it was 'the Spirit of the Lord' which led Israel to rest.² The Messianic deliverer was typified by the chosen angel, the angel of the Lord's presence, of whom God said: 'My *name* is in him,' and by Moses, 'the shepherd of his flock,' in whom God put 'His Holy Spirit.' Yet Moses did not lead Israel to rest. It will therefore be the *successor* of the prophet like Moses who will set up the kingdom. Like David, the antitype of Moses will be *followed* by the great king of terrestrial glory. The *vine* will be the Son of Man, raised to the presence of God; the *branch* will be God's 'elect'³ in the highday of Jerusalem.

If, then, Christ was the perfect human organ or advocate of the Divine Spirit, who in all ages has been 'the Saviour of all;' if He was the incarnate Word from the beginning, He must return to the glory which that Divine Spirit or Wisdom, and therefore Christ Himself as the incarnation of the same, had with the Father before the creation of the world. Of Divine Wisdom it was written in the pre-Christian Apocrypha, that she sitteth *by the throne* of God.⁴ And as David in the spirit spoke of his 'Lord' being invited by the Lord to sit at His right hand,⁵ so the writer of the apocryphal book called Ecclesiasticus prayed to the Father of his Lord when he desired after Divine Wisdom. It was known, therefore, in pre-Christian ages, that Divine Wisdom, the Lord of creation, and especially of man, was in the beginning with God, and sat by the side of His throne. Again, the right hand of God was known as the seat of the power or wisdom of God. From this it follows, that Christ, being 'the power of God and the wisdom of God,'⁶ was the Lord whom David saw in the spirit sitting at the right hand of God the Father.⁷ This exaltation was to be

¹ Ezek. xxxvi. 22 f. ² Is. lxiii. 8-14. ³ Is. xlii. 1 f.; xi. 2. ⁴ Wis. ix. 4.⁵ Ps. cx. 1.⁶ 1 Cor. i. 24.⁷ Mat. xxii. 43, 44; xxiv. 30.

preceded by His being lifted up like the serpent in the wilderness as a sign or token of salvation, as the impersonification of the Divine Word which 'healeth all things,' and also healed those Israelites who looked up to its type, the serpent.¹ In His prophetic eye Jesus saw His cross and His crown of thorns, and He foretold His crucifixion as well as His resurrection,² in order to prepare the disciples for such an event. And yet His prayer in the garden, that, if possible, the cup might pass away,³ and the unprepared state of His disciples after His death, might lead one to think that He had not expected such an end, which would necessarily be construed by the world as a proof of God having forsaken Him.⁴

Regarded as a mere matter of history, the career of Jesus has been beautifully delineated in the following words: 'A young man, destitute of resources, of patronage and of influence, commits Himself to an enterprise which, so long as He lives, is not appreciated or even understood. He is persecuted and scorned, deserted by His friends, betrayed by one of His disciples, falsely accused, and condemned to a disgraceful and torturing death. But alone, with death before Him and without one earthly support, He calmly believes that the enterprise shall triumph and that He shall reign in the minds and hearts of men!' We conclude by quoting from the same work a passage referring to the blending of the Divine and the human in Christ. 'Whoever was His teacher, whatever was the hidden process of instruction through which He had been conducted, and wherever might be the true source of His knowledge, that knowledge was His, truly His, dwelling in His understanding, His conscience, and His heart. That which He uttered to men had first become His own, interwoven with the very texture of His soul, identified with its truest possessions,

¹ Wis. xvi. 7. For the fuller development of this see 'The Gospel after John.'

² Mat. xx. 18, 19.

³ Mat. xxvi. 39.

⁴ Mat. xxvi. 39; xxvii. 40.

CHAP.
IV.

its freest movements, its progressive developments. It was not imposed at the moment by another, it was not an immediate impartation to Him from without, but a true creation from within, a produce of His own. His soul had risen to that truth which He announced, had mastered it, had verily become it; so that not merely the glory of proclaiming it fell to Jesus, but all the inward opulence and power which the real knowledge of it supposed *belonged* to His mind.¹

CHRIST AND PHILO.

Philo's view about the unity and invisibility of the supermundane God, the Father in heaven, is identical with that of Christ, if we consider those passages in the works of the former in which he re-echoes the pure principles of oriental, or of the genuine apocryphal tradition; and if we do not take cognisance of those passages which seem to divulge the fatal influences of western philosophy. The same may be said in general about the doctrine of the Divine Spirit. But we have pointed out that Philo, although in accordance with the Apocrypha he identifies the Spirit of God with the Word of God, yet that he seems to distinguish in some passages the Divine Word from the Divine Spirit. For, according to Philo, the Divine Word cannot become incarnate, but constitutes the aboriginal Divine ideal of humanity. As such it has a formless and unreal existence, if we accept the literal meaning of some passages, where it is conceived as the 'non-corporeal Man,' who as the first-born of all creatures, and as the heavenly pattern of humanity, never quits His celestial abode. It may be doubted whether Philo intended to distinguish the Divine Word from the Spirit

¹ 'The Christ of History,' by Young, London, 1861, pp. 237 and 183. It is the combined effect of transcendently Divine and of individual agency, of the free Creator and of the free creature, which has wrought the greatest of all miracles.

of God, and whether we are right in connecting distinct passages in separate works of his, which probably form more an encyclopedia of then-prevailing opinions than expositions of a coherent system of philosophy. But if Philo has himself made this distinction, he may thereby have intended to distinguish between the eternal idea of God and the eternal spiritual medium for the realisation of the same in the flesh. The doctrine of Philo's 'second God' thus ideally interpreted is not contrary to the doctrine of Christ as revealed by Paul. For the apostle shows Christ to have been the One who, among the many that run the race, obtained the prize of humanity's high calling.¹ But Christ has not called Himself the 'high priest,' as Philo calls the Divine Word, which epithet was probably first applied to Him by Philo's contemporary and fellow-citizen, Apollos of Alexandria. Again, whilst Philo has called the Word of God the *paraclete*, comforter or advocate, Christ has not designated Himself as such. He even made a clear distinction between Himself, as He would be after His resurrection, and the Spirit of God, which, as or in the form of 'another' advocate, He would ask the Father to send.

We have seen that the pre-Christian writer of the book of Enoch distinguishes between the translated Enoch, as the type of glorified humanity, and the Spirit of God which is to conform sons of men to this Divine type. Again, Philo teaches that the Spirit of God, by inhabiting the souls of men, makes them first the sons of the Word and then the sons of God. Even this doctrine is not contrary to Christ's teaching, inasmuch as it implies a distinction not incompatible with the identity between the Father and the Son. Even according to Philo's system a man might, at any time, be conformed to the image of God, and thereby become at one with Him. But Philo did not recognise in Jesus the Son of God.

¹ 1 Cor. ix. 24; Phil. iii. 14.

CHAP.
IV.

CHRIST'S SECOND COMING.

Introduc-
tion.

The destruction of Jerusalem had been plainly foretold by the prophets,¹ and Jesus had confirmed this prophecy. Yet that very Zion was to be 'the city of the great king,'² and Christ had used the same expression when contrasting 'God's throne in heaven' with the great king's throne in Jerusalem, of which city 'glorious things' were spoken, as of the future 'city of God.'³ Were both prophecies to be combined, and did they refer to contemporaneous events? Was Jerusalem to be not only the city of the great king, but also the city of God? Was the Immanuel-Israel of all nations to be represented by an Immanuel-king? Should with him 'the King of Glory' enter in? Were all the glorious promises respecting Jerusalem to be thus fulfilled? And if Jesus was to fulfil all Messianic prophecies, and yet not to survive the destruction of Jerusalem, would He come again? Such were the doubts of the Apostles, when they asked their Master after the time of the great catastrophe, and also after a less general and indefinite 'sign' of his coming. In his reply Christ is recorded to have said, what things must take place before the apparition of 'the sign of the Son of Man in heaven.' 'All these things' His disciples will see, and then they will know that His coming 'is near, even at the doors.' He confirms this statement by the most emphatic declaration, 'Verily, I say unto you this generation shall not pass till all these things be fulfilled; heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away.'⁴ And this is what according to the gospel account he had told them on several previous occasions: 'Verily I say unto you, there be some standing here which shall not taste of death till they see the Son of Man coming in his kingdom.'⁵ Again: 'Ye shall not see me henceforth till ye say, "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord."⁶

¹ Mic. iii. 12; Jer. xxvi. 18.⁴ Mt. xxiv. 34, 35.² Ps. xlviii. 2.⁵ Mt. xvi. 28.³ Ps. lxxxvii. 3.⁶ Mt. xxiii. 39.

According to His recorded sayings Christ declared that He would return *before* that the twelve chosen disciples 'have gone over the cities of Israel.'¹ It is undeniable that according to the first two gospels of our canon, Christ connected his coming with the destruction of Jerusalem. According to Matthew he would return '*immediately* after the tribulation of those days;'² and according to Mark, 'in those days after the tribulation.'³ And it is only the Paulinic evangelist, or possibly the final reviser of the same, who having witnessed the fall of the city without the visible coming of the Lord, speaks of an indefinite delay, occasioned by the necessary occupation of the Gentiles.

Will the Apostles live to see the time of Israel's 'regeneration,' and therefore the time of Jerusalem's destruction? Will the heavenly Messiah be also the terrestrial Messiah, and visibly preside over his twelve disciples, who shall 'sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel?' Will Israel's Messiah be also the Messiah in whom 'all nations' will be blessed? It was difficult not to think so, for it is written that 'everyone' who believes in Him, be he Jew or Gentile, 'shall inherit everlasting life,' and thus belong to the church of the first-born, to the kingdom of heaven.⁴ Again, the Son of Man is to come as the judge of Israel, and of the world. His chosen disciples, still among the living on the earth, will judge only 'the twelve tribes of Israel,' but their returning Lord will judge 'all the tribes of the earth.'⁵ For Jesus, and not Enoch, is 'the Son of Man,' who already in the pre-Christian times was expected to return to the earth, in order to judge the same. Since 'all these things shall come upon this generation,'⁶ the Lord warns His disciples that they are to 'watch,' as they 'know not at what hour' their Lord does come; He will come in such an hour as they think not.⁷

¹ Mt. x. 23.² Mt. xxiv. 29.³ Mark xiii. 24.⁴ Mt. xix. 28, 29.⁵ Mt. xxiv. 30; xxv. 32.⁶ Mt. xxiii. 36.⁷ Mt. xxiv. 42-44.

CHAP.
IV.

For 'suddenly' God will come to his 'temple,' and with him 'the messenger of the covenant' whom Israel desired.¹ These were the expectations of the Christians about the second coming of Christ at the time when the destruction of Jerusalem was clearly drawing nigh; an event which Paul may have in view when he refers to the 'destruction,'² which, like the revelation of the 'man of sin' (probably the Emperor Nero), must precede the Lord's return.³ We know that Stephen the martyr, and James 'the brother' of the Lord, expected his coming;⁴ and so did Paul. Neither of them lived to see the destruction of Jerusalem, the event with which the return of Jesus, 'the Christ' or Messiah, had been generally connected. As regards Paul's doctrine on this subject we shall later point out, that judging from his own Epistles he wrote at one time as if the expectation about the second coming was not mixed up with any doubts; that he wrote at a later time in order to remove such doubts, and that in his last writings he never alluded to this subject at all. Even about the time of the destruction of Jerusalem the second coming of Christ was expected by the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews.⁵ But here this event, which was to take place in 'a little while,' is described as an apparition to those only who 'look for him.' Thus a spiritual coming is opposed to the personal coming of Christ.

The
spiritual
coming of
Christ.

We shall now try to point out that the doctrine of Christ as contained in his parables and in his secret sayings, as these are recorded by the Apostle John, refers only to his spiritual return. The parable of the ten virgins has here to be first considered. The first question which arises is, why in this parable the Lord speaks of 'virgins?' He had said to Nicodemus, 'Except a man be born again he cannot see the kingdom of God.'⁶ The new birth leads to the Divine sonship, and through the same the kingdom of heaven will be opened to Jews and Gentiles. Thus the

¹ Mal. iii. 1.⁴ Jam. v. 7, 8.² 1 Thess. v. 3.⁵ Heb. ix. 28; x. 37.³ 2 Thess. ii. 3, 4.⁶ John iii. 3.

Immanuel-Israel of all nations will be gathered under 'one head,' in order to form the foretold theocracy on earth, the visible symbol and manifestation of the heavenly kingdom. To be of Abraham's seed avails nothing, but to be 'made free' by 'the Son,' the incarnate Word is a necessary condition of Divine sonship. It is the spiritual birth and not the natural birth which entitles to the citizenship of the free Jerusalem above, of which Jerusalem on earth shall be a glorious type, when no more trodden down by the Gentiles. As the individual is made free from bondage by the operation of the indwelling son, the Saviour of all, so is the Israel of the Messianic time, the Israel of the sonship, Immanuel-Israel, to be made free. The prophet Hosea has shown in a figure how this new birth will be brought about. Israel has departed from the Lord, and is therefore represented in the figurative language of the prophet by a fallen and debased woman,¹ by a betrothed virgin who has been faithless to her pledged troth.² Israel is scattered (Jezreel) because it is 'not under grace' (Lo-Ruhamah), and 'not my people' (Lo-Ammi). But Judah is under grace, for the 'mercy' of God will 'save' them, and Judah's salvation will lead to that of Israel; both will be called '*sons of the living God.*'

It seems to be this prophecy about the redemption of Judah in the latter days on which Christ has based His parable of the ten virgins. The holy number ten points to the humanity of the latter days. It will form a divided camp. On the one side will be the nations who accept the doctrine of Divine sonship, and on the other those who in their folly continue to reject the same. '*The virgin of Israel*'³ shall be opposed to the '*virgin of Babylon*.'⁴ Instead of a fallen and debased woman, of a 'betrothed virgin,' who has fallen into faithlessness,⁵ the humanity of the latter days, which is intended to be saved

The ten
virgins.

¹ Hos. i. 2 f.

² Comp. John viii. 3.

³ Jer. xviii. 13; xxxi. 4-21; Lam. i. 15; ii. 10, 13; Amos v. 2.

⁴ Is. xlvii. 1.

⁵ Deut. xxii. 23.

CHAP.
IV.

sooner or later, is represented by virgins,¹ who are divided into two camps; those that are with the Lord and gather with him, and those that are against him and 'scatter' abroad.² The former are under grace, are freed by the Son, are 'sons of the living God;' the latter are like fallen Israel, like 'Jezreel,' like those whom 'God scattereth.' All the nations of the world, that is, the five wise virgins and the five foolish virgins, all expect the bridegroom, and go forth to meet him. Who is the bridegroom? It is 'the Saviour of all,' the Divine Spirit, Wisdom or Word, which was in the beginning with God; by which 'all things' were created; through which man was ordained to 'order the world according to equity and righteousness, and execute judgment with an upright heart;'³ which in measure has dwelt in all ages with man, making of sons of men sons of God. It is the Word which became flesh, and after a few days in the flesh, returned as a spiritual body to the glory which the Divine power possessed with the Father before the foundation of the world. It is the Divine essence through which the aboriginally predestinated type of humanity has been realised; it is the Word of God, which having raised humanity to the Godhead, sits on the right hand of God, not as of old as the Divine Wisdom which sitteth by the throne of God, but personified by one like a son of man. It is the 'Word' which has been manifested and 'spoken' by Christ, and which will judge every man in the last day.⁴ It is the indwelling Saviour, whose mediatorial work has been fully realised in and through the Son of Man, who by obtaining the prize of humanity's high calling, has become the Son of God, has been raised to the presence of the Majesty on high, and sits by the throne of God the Father, as the first-born of deified

¹ In the Shepherd of Hermas, virgins represent holy spirits, and Marcion in his Epistle to Diognetus calls virgins those who develop within themselves the fruits of the Divine word from the beginning. The same doctrine was taught by the Therapeuts and Essenes.

² Mt. xii. 30.

³ Wis. ix. 1-3.

⁴ John xii. 48; iii. 17-21.

humanity, as the personified power and wisdom of God. Like the first-born and only-begotten of the Father, all sons of men are to become one with the Father, they are to be in the Son as the Son is in the Father; they are to be sanctified by the Father, to be known and owned by Him, He is to dwell in them, and they shall all exclaim: 'God with us.'

This Divine indwelling will lead to an intimate though mystic union and communion between man and his Maker, 'the Father of the spirits of all flesh.' For thus saith the Lord: 'I will betroth thee unto Me for ever, yea I will betroth thee unto me in righteousness, and in judgment, and in loving-kindness, and in mercies; I will betroth thee unto Me in faithfulness, and thou shalt know the Lord.'¹ 'I will give them an heart to know me.'² 'And they shall teach no more every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, know the Lord; for they shall all know Me, from the least of them unto the greatest of them, saith the Lord.'³ Referring to this new spiritual covenant of the latter days, to this union between God and the Immanuel-Israel of all nations, the great evangelical prophet exclaims: 'O Zion that bringest good tidings, get thee up into the high mountain; O Jerusalem that bringest good tidings, lift up thy voice with strength, lift it up, be not afraid; say unto the cities of Judah, behold (or *there is*) your God.'⁴ 'Arise, shine, for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee.'⁵ The Lord will then have come unto 'His temple,'⁶ that is, to the sanctuary of the soul. At the time when the expected messenger of the covenant, whom Israel delights in, shall have been set up in Zion, Israel will be God's people, and He will be their God. Through the indwelling Saviour of all, the Father and the Son will take their abode in every sanctified soul, in every man who is led by the Spirit of God, in every 'saint' who

¹ Hos. ii. 19, 20.² Jer. xxiv. 7.³ Jer. xxxi. 34.⁴ Is. xl. 9.⁵ Is. lx. 1.⁶ Mal. iv. 1.

CHAP.
IV.

belongs to the Immanuel-Israel, to the betrothed 'virgin-Israel,' whose name and whose glory is 'God with us.' In order to bring about this marriage between God and man, the Divine Mediator and Saviour of all ages will be abundantly poured on all flesh in the latter days. Before this time 'the earnest expectation of (spiritual) creation' will have waited 'for the manifestation of the sons of God,'¹ and longed for the deliverance 'from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God.' Yea, 'the whole creation' of the Word, those 'which have the first fruits of the Spirit,' will have groaned and waited for 'the adoption,' that is, the redemption of the body. And whilst thus waiting for the bridegroom, 'the Spirit' will have made 'intercession' for those among the sons of men who had such an advocate within them, for those who 'took oil in their vessels with their lamps,' and who therefore might slumber and sleep, and yet have the Lord's grace within them. Suddenly a loud appeal is made to the new Israel of all nations, to arise and to shine, for that her light is come, and that the glory of the Lord is risen upon the same. 'The bridegroom cometh, go ye out to meet him!' But all are not under grace, all are not ready, and there is no time to get ready at once. To many the sleep of expectation has been a sleep unto death. They cannot follow the bridegroom to the wedding, for the wedding garment which is necessary is the spirit of adoption, the new man. Though the door be shut, yet the bridegroom listens to those who stand without and cry, 'Lord, Lord,' but he knows them not, they are not yet new creatures. The keys of the kingdom of heaven are as yet unknown to them.

Develop-
ment of
the doc-
trine on
the second
advent.

Before we can point out in how far this interpretation of Christ's parable is confirmed by his secret doctrine, as we find it in John's Gospel, we must consider the gradual development of apostolic tradition with regard to this event. Already Paul, when writing to the Thessalonians,²

¹ Rom. viii. 19 f.

² 2 Thes. ii. 3, 4.

had modified his expectation about the Lord's immediate return, which he had expressed to the Corinthians.¹ He was followed by the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, who spiritualised and limited the re-appearance of the Lord. Again, the writer of the book of Revelation records the repeated declaration of the risen Jesus, that he will come 'quickly,' and he connects this event with Jerusalem, by describing the Lamb standing on Mount Zion. Yet he shows that the coming of Christ must be preceded by the prophesying of the two witnesses, which is to last 'a thousand two hundred and threescore days.' In this place it suffices to state that this vision about the two witnesses, or the 'two olive trees,' refers to the prophecy of Zechariah, where the two olive trees are explained by the angel to represent 'the two anointed ones,' that is, the two Christs or Messiahs, 'who stand (or shall stand) by the Lord of the whole earth.'² The same prophecy seems to have been referred to by Christ when He promised 'another' comforter or advocate of the spirit of truth, who would lead them into all truth. He had said to His disciples, 'I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now.'³ Thus He had prepared them for a later revelation, and in order that they should not be mistaken, but should at once recognise this new revelation, this other gospel, 'the gospel which should afterwards be revealed,' he foretold them which would be the main doctrines of the same. The spirit of truth will reprove the world of sin, of righteousness and of judgment. We shall later show that this passage seems especially to refer to the gospel revealed by the risen Christ to Paul, the forerunner of the second witness, of the other advocate, the terrestrial Messiah, of the sinful man, who by God's grace will be set up in Zion.

In the Gospel after John the disciples are recorded to have been forewarned by the Lord, that they would *not* see Him again on earth, but in heaven. In 'a little

¹ 1 Cor. xv. 51, 52.² Zech. iv. 3, 14.³ John xvi. 12.

CHAP.
IV.

while' the world will see Him no more, because He will go to the Father; but because He lives, they shall live also, and thus shall see Him.¹ Before their being drawn after Him, He will come to them, not personally but spiritually; He will be 'in' them, as He will be in a higher degree in the other advocate of the Divine Spirit, who will take of His own and reveal it to them. Thus it is that though He goes away, He will yet come to them by 'the spirit of truth,' which even *then* dwelled 'with' them, personified as the same was by Christ, and which '*shall be in*' them, as it will be in the especial instrument of the spirit of truth, 'the advocate' of Messianic times.² The spirit of truth which then dwelled with them was 'the light of the world;' it would remain with them but 'a little while;'³ then for 'a little while' they would not see Him, but again a little while and His disciples would see Him,⁴ where He would be, in His heavenly kingdom, which He would receive from 'the Father.' 'At that day ye shall know that I am in my Father, and ye in me, and I in you.' Already the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews had used the expression 'a little while,' denoting the term of Christ's days in the flesh, during which He was made inferior to angels.⁵ He had used the same expression as a definition of the time which must elapse before Christ's second coming.⁶ According to the Gospel after John, Apollos, or whoever the writer of this Epistle may have been, had the authority of Christ Himself for this expression, as referring both to the duration of His life on earth and to the period of His return.⁷

It is evident that if Christ has spoken the words attributed to Him in the fourth gospel, He has spoken more 'openly' to His disciples on the subject of His return than the sayings of the Lord recorded in the first three gospels would lead us to expect that He ever did. Whilst

¹ John xvi. 19. ² John xiv. 16 f. ³ John xii. 35. ⁴ John xvi. 16.

⁵ Hebr. ii. 7. ⁶ Hebr. x. 37. ⁷ Comp. Hagg. ii. 6; Barn. xi. 14, 15.

the latter clearly announce a second coming of Himself, and whilst they connect this Messianic event with the destruction of Jerusalem, which His twelve Apostles would live to see; according to the Gospel after John, Christ declared that His disciples would only see Him a little while longer on earth; that then for a little while they would not see Him, and that, finally, again after a little while they would see Him and live with Him in the heavenly kingdom, which would be given over to 'the Son of Man' after His resurrection. In the intervening time between Christ leaving His disciples and the latter seeing Him again in heaven after their resurrection, the risen Son of Man, the personified Spirit of God, will lead them into all truth, principally through the instrumentality of an especially appointed messenger of God. The apostle Paul had begun to convince the world of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment; he had fulfilled his way-preparing mission, and sealed the same by his martyrdom, before the Gospel after John was written, which contains the secret doctrine of Christ as by Him confided to His disciples. This would account for Paul's uncertainty with regard to the Lord's second coming; and thus also it may be explained why in the first apostolic record the sayings of Christ about His return contain what is contradictory. Because the true tradition on this subject was to a great extent excluded in the first gospel by the compulsion of the Pharisees, a partly erroneous tradition sprung up, and was recorded in the Gospel 'after' Matthew before the Gospel after John became generally known or adopted.

Paul had confirmed the glorious future of Israel's Messianic mission;¹ and although, in the revelation of John, Israel had been described as going out of Babylon, in order to form the kingdom in Zion, yet in the Gospel after John the terrestrial kingdom has been entirely absorbed in its antitype, the heavenly kingdom. No

¹ Rom. xi.

CHAP.
IV.

Messianic mission is held out to a renewed Israel in the flesh, after the 'coming in' of the Gentiles. Hence it seems to follow that at the time of the Immanuel-Israel, when 'a voice from heaven'¹ shall have announced 'the bridegroom's' coming, that is, Jehovah's spiritual coming to His temple,² all distinction between Israel and the Gentiles will have been abolished;³ that 'Israel' as well as 'Judah' will be called 'sons of the living God,' and that all those nations will belong to the Messianic kingdom upon earth who have not only gone forth to meet the bridegroom, but who, like the wise virgins, have 'oil in their vessels,' are 'under grace,' possess the Spirit of God, know the mystery of Christ within them.

Conclu-
sion.

We say, then, that if we wish to account for this development of the doctrine about the second advent of Christ; if we wish to harmonise the fuller with the incomplete apostolic record, we are obliged to assume that Christ considered the true doctrine about His Messiahship as one which even His chosen disciples, as a body, could not then bear, although it was given to them to know 'the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven.' Having, as a body, been purposely left in the dark with regard to the mystery of the Messianic prophecies, even the Apostles expected Jesus to be the fulfiller of all of them. This seems to have led to the expectation of a second visible coming of Christ, as the setter-up of the terrestrial kingdom in Zion, foretold by the prophets. Such erroneous expectation would naturally lead to a wrong interpretation of the words of Christ as recorded in the first evangelical record. But the doctrine about the second advent as recorded in the Epistle to the Hebrews and in the Gospel after John, originated in genuine apostolic tradition, based on the secret sayings of Christ, of which the Gospel after John is the authentic

¹ Rev. xviii. 4.² Mal. iii. 1.³ The Apocalypse points to the fusion of Israel in the flesh and Israel in the spirit by referring to the twenty-four elders, that is, twelve for each (Rev. iv. 4, 10).

exponent. And according to these later apostolic records, the coming of Christ is not a visible or personal, but a spiritual coming to the soul of man. CHAP.
IV.

When the doctrine of the Divine sonship shall go forth from Jerusalem as the Word of God; when the spiritual law which proceeded from the servant of God shall 'rest for a light of the people,' as the Divine Spirit rested upon the servant of God; when the people in whose heart is the law of God¹ shall rally under the banner of 'the Lord our righteousness,' and 'God with us,' then the bridegroom shall have come, and the wise virgins shall follow Him to the marriage.

When the messenger of the covenant, whom Israel has desired of old; when the terrestrial Messiah, the Messianic reaper, shall have led the Immanuel-Israel of all tongues and nations to the land of promise, under the way-preparing leadership of the 'breaker,' at that time Jehovah will come to His temple, that is to the heart of man, to the tabernacle of the soul.² There He will meet with man, and will commune with him from above the mercy-seat.³ The new Israel will then be called to a royal priesthood, and every citizen of 'the city of the great King' shall offer up on the altar of his own sanctuary 'holiness to the Lord.'⁴ And since in the unity of the Spirit the Son and the Father are at One, the coming of Jehovah to His temple is also the coming of Christ. Both will make their abode in the hearts of those 'who look for Him,' and who will see Him with the eye of faith. For the Christ of the latter days will be the indwelling Saviour.

This invisible manifestation of the Divine Spirit in man may be accompanied by one or more visible apparitions of the risen Christ. But of such we know nothing certain; for we have shown that on this subject even the Apostles were allowed to form erroneous ideas, which were the

¹ Is. li. 1-7.

² Mal. iv. 1.

³ Comp. Ex. xxv. 22.

⁴ Ex. xxviii. 36 f.

CHAP.
IV.

necessary consequence of their misunderstanding the Messianic prophecies. Not distinguishing between those which refer to the Messianic sower and those which refer to the Messianic reaper, the Jews, as a nation, have been prevented from recognising Jesus as the heavenly Messiah; and the Christians, ever since the earliest times, have been led to expect a visible reign on earth of Jesus the Son of God, as the promised terrestrial Messiah.

The author hopes in all humility and in deference to more light which may be granted on this important subject, that the new solution offered in the chapter on chronology with regard to the mystery of the seventy weeks, the seven thousand years, and the millennium, may tend, in conjunction with the view here delineated about the Hidden Wisdom of Christ, to a fuller knowledge and a more universal acknowledgment of 'the truth as it is in Jesus,' who has said, 'where two or three are gathered in my name, there am I in the midst of them,' and who has promised to be with His Church 'alway, even unto the end of the world.'¹

¹ Mat. xviii. 20; xxviii. 20.

CHAPTER V.

THE GOSPEL REVEALED TO PAUL.

INTRODUCTION—THE HIDDEN WISDOM—THE ‘OTHER’ GOSPEL—PAUL AND
 APOLLOS — EPHESIANS — COLOSSIANS — PHILIPPIANS — PHILEMON —
 TIMOTHY—CONCLUSION.

‘Stablish you according to my gospel, and the preaching of Jesus Christ, according to the revelation of the mystery, which was kept secret since the world began.’—Rom. xvi. 25.

IN all ages the Divine Spirit proceeding from the eternal Creator had been poured on all flesh. The purpose of these Divine incarnations, to raise sons of God among sons of men, had been but imperfectly attained, in consequence of the liberty granted to the creature, either to obey or to disobey the indwelling Spirit of Him who created man to the image of His Maker. The Spirit of God, which before the creation of man moved above the waters that covered the earth, had come down from heaven and had been breathed into the nostrils of the first Adam, thus enduing him with a living soul, with the germ of immortality. By making the wrong use of his liberty, by resisting the Divine Spirit, man fell from his first estate. To redeem sinful man, to restore him to the image of God, this was the mission of the Spirit of holiness. Nothing but obedience, or truth in the inward parts, was required from the sons of men. In all ages some of them were moved by the Spirit from above, and by this Divine operation, human will permitting, that

CHAP.
V.

Introduc-
tion.

CHAP.
V.

is, by the combined effect of God's grace and man's obedience, they were initiated in the Divine sonship. Thus obedience led to righteousness by the grace of God. The righteous were perfected, their souls kept alive and accepted as a propitiation for sin, as a well-pleasing sacrifice. But although God had perfected sinful man, yet the perfect incarnation of the Holy Spirit, the image of God's glory, the man after God's aboriginal idea and pattern, the ideal man, must be sinless.

Such perfect obedience, such entire union between the finite and the infinite, was reserved for the fulness of time. The Son of Man was born; He lived the life of the Son of God and died the atoning death of the righteous. Yet even His chosen disciples understood Him not; whilst the chosen nation looked only for a Messiah who should set up the promised terrestrial kingdom in Zion. Suddenly a leading persecutor of those who called themselves Nazarenes, and who by the Gentiles were later called Christians, was miraculously led to the conviction that Jesus of Nazareth was the Christ, the Son of God. This man was Saul, later called Paul, of Tarsus in Cilicia.

Gamaliel.

Paul's father, a Pharisee,¹ having destined him to become a Rabbi, his master in the Jewish capital, the famous Gamaliel, made him a member of the sect of the Pharisees.² We have seen that in the Rabbinical schools of Palestine the interpretation of the law, in accordance with the principles of that gnostic reform of the Jews which originated in Babylon, had gradually supplanted, before the beginning of the Christian era, the original religion of the Jews. Among the learned Rabbinical schools of the Pharisees the most eminent were the rival schools of Hillel and Shammai. How great the antagonism between them was may be gathered from the fact that, according to the teaching of Hillel, God created first the earth and then the heavens; and, according to

¹ Acts xxiii. 6.

² Phil. iii. 5.

Shammai, first the heavens and then the earth. The latter view was in harmony with the Aryan traditions with which the Jews had come into contact in Babylon, and also with the text of Genesis as sanctioned by Ezra. Hillel's doctrine must be regarded as an earlier development of Jewish tradition, under the influence of Egyptian theology and cosmogony, according to which the earth formed in all eternity the centre, and also the aboriginal germ of the universe.

Hillel, 'the Babylonian,' who lived in the beginning of Herod's reign, was father of Simeon ben Jochai, or ben Zachai, literally 'glory of science, or gnosis.' And again, Simeon was the father of Gamaliel, the teacher of Paul. These three men, Hillel, Simeon, and Gamaliel, as well as his successor Akiba, have been at all times regarded as the chief authorities for the interpretation of the law, in accordance with the traditional principles of gnostic reform. They were the most renowned among the 'tanaïms' or 'teachers of tradition.' Of Gamaliel we are informed in the Acts,¹ that he was 'had in reputation of all the people;' and we know that he was one of the seven who alone among the learned doctors of the Jews have been honoured with the title of 'Rabban' or 'Rabboni.' It is not improbable that Simeon, his father, was the same 'just and devout' man to whom the Holy Ghost revealed 'that he should not see death before he had seen the Lord's Christ.' If so, the Song of Simeon recorded in Luke may be regarded as an epitome of the Messianic expectations as taught in the school in which Paul was brought up.² And it is by no means impossible that the very Gamaliel, at whose feet the young Paul had sat about the year 14 A.C., was among the number of those doctors in the temple in the midst of whom Jesus sat, 'both hearing them and asking them questions.'

Since Onkelos, the earliest known Chaldee paraphraser of the Pentateuch, is reported to have been likewise a

¹ v. 34.² Comp. 'The Gospel after Luke.'

CHAP.
V.

pupil of Gamaliel, we may assume that such paraphrases as those called after Onkelos and after Jonathan were used by Gamaliel and his pupils. Thus we are enabled to conjecture which were the leading principles of instruction in his school. The interpretation of any passage in Holy Writ would be considered as an open question, no fixed interpretation being admitted as authoritative; for although the interpretations of the most renowned teachers of the law and of tradition were held in high repute, yet even these were freely discussed, and occasionally amended, in accordance with the increased knowledge of a more advanced age. The gradual development of doctrine was further facilitated by the allegorical form which was best suited to convey a hidden meaning. On the whole, we have reason to expect that the method of instruction in the higher Jewish schools in Palestine was somewhat akin to that pursued among their brethren in Alexandria. Referring to this subject, it is stated in Ecclesiasticus, 'He that giveth his mind to the law of the Most High, and is occupied in the meditation thereof, will seek out the wisdom of all the ancient, and be occupied in prophecies. He will keep the sayings of the renowned men, and where subtil parables are, he will be there also. He will seek out the secrets of grave sentences, and be conversant in dark parables.'¹

We are thus in the outset led to expect that Paul's teaching was in harmony with the principles of apocryphal tradition, which the Sadducees rejected entirely, and even the Pharisees in part, of which the Essenes may be regarded as among the most faithful guardians known to us, and which principles of Jewish reform had received the highest sanction, development and application by Jesus the Christ. Other circumstances tend to confirm this expectation. Paul was born in Tarsus, the capital of the province Cilicia, in the time of the Romans. Its inhabitants, descendants of Greek colonists, were famous

Tarsus.

¹ xxxix. 1-3.

as furtherers of science, and were reckoned among the most intellectual Greeks in Asia. Tarsus was one of the most richly endowed emporiums of philosophy, and although for a time it had to yield the first rank to Alexandria, it soon outstepped its rival, and even before the time of Paul this city was generally regarded as the first seat of Greek learning. For Strabo, born in Capadocia in the year 60 B.C., writes as follows about Tarsus and its inhabitants: 'The men of this place are so zealous in the study of philosophy and the whole cyclus of education, that they surpass both Athens and Alexandria, and every place that could be mentioned, where schools of philosophers and disputations on literature are held. And the difference amounts to this. Here those who are fond of learning are all natives, and strangers do not willingly reside here, and they themselves do not remain, but finish their education abroad, and gladly take up their residence elsewhere, and few return. Whereas in the other cities which I have just mentioned, except Alexandria, the contrary takes place, for many come to them and live here willingly; but you will see few of the natives either going abroad for the sake of philosophy, or caring to study it at home. The Alexandrians have both characters, for they receive many strangers, and send out of their own people not a few.'¹

It has been rendered probable that Paul left Tarsus for Jerusalem when he was between ten and thirteen years of age, and that in accordance with an educational system which can be proved to have been in force in later times, Paul was already in Tarsus instructed in the Mishna,² that is, in the principles of what was originally apocryphal or secret gnostic tradition. When at Jerusalem, he sat at the feet of the son of Simeon, who in that very Mishna is quoted as an authority. Paul's rabbinical education under Gamaliel having been completed, he probably returned to Tarsus, and either here or at some other place he may

¹ Str. xiv. 673.² See Conybeare and Howson's 'Life of St. Paul.'

CHAP.
V.

for a time have 'ministered' to his necessities and to those that were with him, by his handiwork as a tentmaker. This occupation would leave him some time to pursue his studies; but it was probably during the time which elapsed between his conversion and his first meeting with all the Apostles at Jerusalem, that he continued in his retirement the study of those apocryphal doctrines, of that 'Hidden Wisdom,' in which he had been instructed during his youth, and which Jesus of Nazareth, whom he now knew to be the Christ, had fully revealed by His teaching and by His life.

Arabia.

The interval between the time when God revealed His Son 'in' Paul, and the latter's communicating to the Apostles at Jerusalem his 'other' Gospel, according to his own account comprised the long period of at least seventeen years. After his conversion he left Damascus, not for Jerusalem, but for Arabia. We have every reason to suppose that the flight from Damascus which the Apostle himself records, as having been caused by 'the governor under Aretas,'¹ took place but a short time after his conversion. For in the Acts we are told that it happened 'after several days;' and his escaping 'by the wall in a basket,'² is a feature which the Apostle has himself connected with the persecution by the governor under Aretas, and by the Jews in that city. Under these circumstances Paul is likely to have been prevented from returning to Damascus for some time, and as the Apostle tells us that he remained in Arabia till he returned to Damascus, his stay in Arabia can hardly have been a short one. But independently of the time which Paul spent in Arabia, seventeen years elapsed before he made to the Apostles at Jerusalem the communication which he has recorded in the second chapter of his Epistle to the Galatians. In the first chapter he distinguishes from this meeting with the Apostles his first visit to Jerusalem, and he is clearly bent upon showing that at this time he saw

¹ 2 Cor. xi. 33.

² Acts ix. 23-25.

only Peter and James; and this not several or ever so many days after his conversion, but *three years* after his *return* from Arabia, whither he went probably not many days after his conversion, an event which would naturally lead the Jews of Damascus to take 'counsel to kill him.'¹

We must bear in mind how the Apostle solemnly declares before the sight of God, that after his conversion *he did not immediately* confer 'with flesh and blood,' an expression by which he may well have intended to refer especially to the Apostles at Jerusalem, as being like him of the stock of Israel. To these he 'privately' communicated his gospel, as otherwise he might have failed in his attempt 'to join himself to the disciples,'² and might have 'run in vain.' He tells us that those 'who seemed to be somewhat, added nothing' to him, or more literally, that 'the respected persons communicated nothing new' to Paul, but 'contrariwise,' gave the hand of fellowship to him who had 'communicated *to them*' his other or new gospel, which he had not received from any man. We may therefore assume that the result of Paul's first meeting with the Apostles at Jerusalem probably consisted in the compromise, that if he would not preach his (apocryphal) gospel among the Jews, and if he would 'remember the poor,' they would acknowledge him in public, as they had done that very day in private.

Before we attempt to explain in what consisted the difference between the gospel as preached by Paul and as preached by the Apostles at Jerusalem, why in fact Paul speaks of his gospel as of 'another gospel,' we must consider the relations between 'the Hidden Wisdom' as preached by Paul, and those apocryphal or hidden principles of secret doctrine which constitute the foundation on which Christ raised the sublime edifice of his heavenly teaching.

God is One and Invisible.—'To us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we

The
Hidden
Wisdom.

¹ Acts. ix. 23.

² Acts ix. 20.

CHAP.
V.

in Him ; and one Lord Jesus Christ, *by* whom are all things, and we *by* Him.’¹ Paul distinguishes between ‘the Creator,’ as the final cause of all things, and between the Creator as He will be manifested by the creature according to His eternal purpose. This distinction between cause and effect is but apparently weakened by his saying of God, that ‘in Him we live, and move; and have our being.’² And in another passage he emphatically declares that ‘of Him, and through Him, and to Him, are all things;’³ and that there is ‘one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all.’⁴ He is also ‘the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ,’ and thus the creative source of that Divine Spirit which proceeds from Him, and at the same time that highest and supernatural intelligence, which before the creation of man conceived the ideal pattern, the ‘high calling’ of man. Christ the Lord ‘is the Spirit,’ because by His perfect obedience He has become One with the Divine Spirit of holiness, which, proceeding from the Creator, has in all ages been poured on all flesh. By this perfect incarnation of the Holy Spirit, the second Adam has been conformed to the aboriginally conceived ideal pattern of mankind. Thus, by becoming One with the Divine Spirit, Christ became One with the aboriginal Divine type of humanity ; by Him humanity was raised to the Godhead, *the* Son of Man to *the* Son of God ; the creature was conformed to the image of the Creator.

Although Paul accepts the definition of ‘our Father,’ or ‘the Father,’ yet he seems intentionally to avoid the reference to his locally circumscribed throne above, which is contained in the words ‘which is in heaven.’ As Christ so invariably used these words when speaking of God the Father, the omission can hardly be considered a casual one, particularly when we bear in mind that Paul never describes the Divine kingdom as being ‘of heaven.’

¹ 1 Cor. viii. 6. ² Acts xvii. 28. ³ Rom. xi. 36. ⁴ Eph. iv. 6.

It is difficult to account for this. Possibly he may have been somewhat influenced by the doctrine about heaven as taught by the school of Hillel, to which his master Gamaliel, and probably Paul himself, belonged. We have seen that, according to Hillel's theory, heaven was a later creation than the earth. This, however, cannot have been Paul's opinion after his conversion, when he knew and taught that the second Adam is 'from heaven.' We may therefore assume that, out of consideration for the school in which he was brought up, and in the face of the gulf which had been created between God and man by the ideas connected with the personality of the Creator, the Apostle preferred not to connect expressly the heavens with God or His kingdom.

CHAP.
V.

We find that, according to Paul's doctrine, God is not only the invisible source of the Divine indwelling Spirit, but also that highest and supernatural intelligence which, before the creation of the world, did in the beginning conceive, and thus ideally create, the Divine type of humanity, which in the fulness of time should be realised and manifested by and through the Son of Man and the Son of God.

The Divine Spirit (manifested in the flesh) is the first-born of every creature, the organ of sanctification and immortality, and the Medium between the Creature and the Creator. Christ is the Spirit.—Paul identifies 'the Man Jesus' with the Spirit of God when he says: 'The Lord is the Spirit.' He therefore applies to Christ all the attributes of the Spirit. In accordance with the apocryphal doctrine on the Divine Spirit, founded on Aryan traditions, Paul calls Jesus the Christ 'the first-born of every creature,' and the first-born among many brethren.¹ The first creation, or rather emanation, was the ideal pattern of man, who, as the first Adam, was to be created in the image of God, and, notwithstanding his fall, to be restored and perfected to that

The Spirit
of Christ
is the
Spirit of
God.

¹ Col. i. 15; Rom. viii. 29.

CHAP.
V.

image by the sanctifying operation of the Divine essence, which was in the beginning with God, and in all ages was poured on all flesh. Because Christ, the second Adam, is One with the indwelling Spirit of God, He is, like the same, the first-born among all creatures. Because Christ is the ideal man, the first who reached the mark of humanity's high calling, that is, who realised in Himself the image of God, He is the first-born among the many brethren of His who are called, though but few of them are chosen. Others had been chosen before Him, had been moved by the Spirit of God, and thus initiated in the Divine sonship. But because Jesus is the Christ, the perfect incarnation of God's Holy Spirit, therefore God 'hath highly exalted Him, and given Him a name (or spirit) which is above every name, that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth, and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father.'¹

The
pattern.

Paul, therefore, identifies Jesus Christ not only with the Divine Spirit, but also with the Divine ideal pattern of mankind, which, through the operation of the former, should in the fulness of time become realised in the flesh. Through His perfect obedience, Jesus was the perfect manifestation of the Divine medium and of the Divine object, both the sanctifier and the sanctified, the anointer and the anointed, the cause and the effect.² Jesus, the second Adam, being anointed, was 'a quickening spirit,' and therefore 'from heaven.'³ Not that He had only *received* the quickening Spirit without measure, which in measure had been poured on all flesh in all ages, but He was the perfect incarnation of the same, the Son of Man in whom the fulness of the Godhead dwelt bodily, 'the image of the invisible God.'⁴ Already the first Adam had the Divine 'breath of life,' and therefore 'a living

¹ Phil. ii. 9-11.² 2 Cor. iii. 17; Rom. i. 4.³ 1 Cor. xv. 47.⁴ Col. i. 15; ii. 9.

soul ;' but the breath of life, the quickening spirit, was quenched, because resisted ; it inhabited sinful flesh. In the fulness of time the same Divine Spirit inhabited a sinless body, although this body was made 'in the likeness of sinful flesh.'¹ The Divine mind being in Christ, the ideal pattern of mankind was realised. Like the first Adam before his fall, Christ was in 'the likeness,' or in 'the form of God,' and 'equal with God,' because He was One with the Spirit, as the Spirit is One with the Father. Henceforth, to be in the Spirit of God is to be in Christ. Both have become identical.

'Ye are not in the flesh but in the spirit, if so be that *the Spirit of God* dwell in you. Now, if any man hath not *the Spirit of Christ* he is none of His. And if Christ (that is the Spirit of God) be in you, the body is dead because of sin ; but the spirit is life because of righteousness. But if the Spirit of Him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwell in you, He that raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies by His Spirit that dwelleth in you.'² It is, therefore, the Spirit of God who is 'from heaven,' who being 'the brightness of the everlasting light,' and 'the image of the invisible God,' in the fulness of time 'made Himself of no reputation,' but 'humbled Himself' by becoming poor for the sake of man, by identifying Himself with the Man Jesus, who 'became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross.' It is the Spirit of God, who 'thought it not robbery to be equal with God,' and yet to be 'found in fashion as a man.' It is the Divine Spirit in 'the form of a servant,' who has been 'highly exalted ;' it is to the perfect incarnation of the Divine Spirit, to the personified Holy Ghost, to Christ Jesus, that a name has been given above every name. The infinite having united itself to the finite, raised the finite to the infinite ; 'He that sanctifieth' and 'He whom the Father hath sanctified' are One ; the Spirit of God is the Spirit of Christ, 'the Lord is the Spirit.'³

¹ Rom. viii. 3.² Rom. viii. 9-11.³ Phil. ii. 5-11 ; 2 Cor. iii. 17 ; viii. 9 ; John x. 36 ; Heb. ii. 11 ; Jude i.

CHAP.
V.Man a free
agent.

Since the will of God is the sanctification of fallen man, and since for the realisation of this purpose God has poured out the sanctifying Spirit on all flesh, nothing could stand in the way of man's redemption, if God had not created him a free agent, an independent disposer of his own destiny, capable of being moved by the Spirit of God, or of resisting the same. By His perfect obedience Jesus Christ has identified Himself with the eternal will of God concerning man, and thereby has become the co-operating medium of man's redemption. Christ has willed in the flesh what God has willed before any flesh was created. Thus the finite has been raised to a level with the infinite; and yet this equality between the creature and the Creator does not affect the Divine Majesty, is no 'robbery,' but the realisation of God's eternal purpose. The saving scheme of God has been accomplished by the whole life of Jesus, by his obedience unto death. As soon as 'the child' became conscious that He must be in that which is of his Father's, that is in the Spirit of God, He followed the dictates of this Divine witness, and thus became richly endowed with the Divine Spirit, 'by whom are all things.'¹ In a similar manner, but in a different degree, because of man's disobedience, the Holy Spirit had partially perfected sons of men in all ages. But the entire obedience of Jesus made him the Christ, the image of God, the Son of Man in whom dwelt the fulness of the Godhead bodily, the Son of God who is at one with Him, and whom therefore the Apostle repeatedly calls 'the Lord.' That Holy Spirit which was in the beginning with God and was God, was ever since the beginning of the conscious life of Jesus *with* Jesus, and *was* Jesus, *was* the Christ. The Man Jesus, inasmuch as He *is* the Spirit, has therefore existed before all creatures; His Divine nature is eternal. But He has pre-existed not only because of the Divine Spirit which dwelt in Him in all fulness, but also as the aboriginal idea of God concerning man's high destiny.

¹ 1 Cor. viii. 6.

It is in this double sense that Paul treats of the historical person of Christ as a pre-existing one, that is as one which before the days of Christ in the flesh had an ideal existence with God. Not the human but the Divine nature of Christ is eternal; not Jesus as such, but Jesus the Spirit, or in other words Jesus the Christ, the anointed **Man**, although 'made of the seed of David,' is not 'of the earth, earthy,' but He is 'from heaven;' He is of the Spirit, spiritual. To be moved by the spirit of this world is to be earthly; to be moved by the Spirit of God is to be heavenly, is to cease bearing 'the image of the earthly,' and to 'bear the image of the heavenly.' Not 'flesh and blood,' but the Spirit of God, makes men heirs of the kingdom of God, causing them to pass from corruption to incorruption. And thus it is also the Spirit of God which saved the first-born father, the first Adam, from his fall, and preserved him as 'the figure' or type of that 'one Man' Jesus Christ, the second or last Adam, which that selfsame Spirit of God raised from the dead as the type of man glorified. 'For since by man came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead; for as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive.'¹

The typical relation between the first and the second Adam consists in the mysterious unity of man's Divine and human nature; for the latter was endowed from the beginning with a measure of the Divine Spirit which constitutes the Divine nature of man, 'the image of God.' But although ever since the creation of man to the image of God, the heavenly was mixed up with the earthy, yet the Divine nature of the second Adam was essentially different from the Divine nature of the first Adam. By the disobedience of the latter the infinite had been all but absorbed in and through the finite; nothing was left of his Divine nature, except a spark of that heavenly flame which ought to have pervaded his earthly tabernacle. But by the perfect obedience of the second Adam

CHAP.
V.

Pre-ex-
istence of
Christ.

¹ 1 Cor. xv. 21, 22.

CHAP.
V.

the earthly was conformed to the heavenly, the human nature to the Divine nature. The Spirit of Christ being one with the Spirit of God, Christ was in direct union and communion with Him 'that searcheth the hearts,' and, like Him, He knew 'what is the mind of the Spirit' which 'maketh intercession for us with groanings which cannot be uttered.' Thus it is that Christ has become the type of man glorified, 'the first-born among many brethren.' His human nature was in all respects like the human nature of all His brethren, sin excepted. And as Christ's human nature was conformed to His Divine nature, so the human and the Divine nature of His brethren is to be conformed to His 'image.' As the Man Jesus was foreknown and predestinated to be conformed to the image of God, to the Divine sonship, to the mark of humanity's high calling, so likewise those whom God predestinated and called are 'to be conformed to the image of His Son.' By this Divine predestination some are chosen earlier than others, although all are called to the sonship, to that mark which all are destined to reach in the course of those future developments of the soul, of which the life in the terrestrial body forms the starting-point. For there is a time when God will be 'all in all' through the Divine sonship, to which in all ages some have been raised, but which has only been fully realised and manifested in and through Christ. Of this perfect sonship Christ is the first-born and only-begotten. He is the image of God and, at the same time, the eternal type of glorified mankind. By His obedience many shall be made righteous;¹ His brethren in the flesh will become His brethren in the Spirit, as later born sons of God, as 'joint heirs with Christ;' they will be where He is, and see Him as He is; they will be in Christ as Christ is in God the Father.²

Distinction
between
-ist's

We see that Paul clearly distinguishes between the human and the Divine nature of Christ. 'According to

¹ Rom. v. 17.

² 1 Cor. iii. 23.

the flesh' he was 'made of the seed of David,' that is according to the law of carnal commandment given by God according to Genesis: 'Be fruitful and multiply.' But the son of Joseph and Mary was 'declared to be the Son of God with power, according to the spirit of holiness, by the resurrection from the dead.'¹ Jesus was the Christ, the man in and by whom was fully realised 'the image' of God, in which the first Adam had been created. Notwithstanding his carnal descent he descended from God; his divine nature did so entirely pervade his human nature, that he made 'in himself of twain one new man, so making peace.' For as Gentile and Jew have been 'made both one,' so is it with the human and the divine nature of Christ, who abolished 'in his flesh the enmity,' so that the fleshy became one with the spiritual, the casket with the jewel.² Paul therefore identifies 'the power of the Spirit of God'³ with 'the power of our Lord Jesus Christ.'⁴ For since God has been manifested in the flesh, man glorified sits at the right hand of God as the anti-type of Moses,⁵ as a personal mediator, and no longer as the non-personal Wisdom, or as an unrealised ideal of humanity.

CHAP.
V.

human and
His Divine
nature.

We have pointed out in a former chapter that one of the leading principles of the national reformation which was effected during the Babylonian captivity was that of the unity and spirituality of God, as opposed to the preconceived ideas about his personality. We showed that accordingly all the leading passages in the Pentateuch which refer unmistakeably to the personality of God, were in the Septuagint-translation altered and harmonised with the apocryphal writings, which formed part of the same, whilst being the authentic exponent of the principles of Jewish reform. The popular ideas about the personality of God were so opposed to the conceptions of

¹ Rom. i. 3, 4.

² Eph. ii. 14, 15.

³ Rom. xv. 13, 19; i. 20; 1 Cor. vi. 14; 2 Cor. iv. 7.

⁴ 1 Cor. v. 4; 2 Cor. xii. 9.

⁵ Gal. iii. 19, 20.

CHAP.
V.

the reformed Jew about the Divine Being, that, as we have seen, the appearances of and the communications from Jehovah were ascribed to the Divine Word, Spirit or dwelling, to the Shechina, so that the name of God was actually displaced in several writings of the pre-Christian period by the name of the Word or Memra. According to the pure apocryphal doctrine, as contained in the book of Wisdom and in Ecclesiasticus, the Divine Word was conceived not as a person, but as an essence proceeding from the Creator, who in all ages had sent the same from above to dwell with man below. Through this divine instrumentality some chosen men among the chosen people became ministers of God, ministers of His who did His pleasure. Hence the expectation that the promised Messiah would be the perfect instrument of God, a prophet and more than a prophet, that He would be a perfect incarnation of the Divine Word. Consequently all the attributes and offices of the latter were *à priori* ascribed to the Messiah, and the idea prevailed in a larger or in a smaller circle of the Jewish community, that the coming of the Messiah would be the coming of the Shechina, the Word of God.¹

Christ is
the Spirit.

As in the so-called targum of Onkelos all the attributes of Jehovah have been ascribed to the Divine Word, so Paul has applied to Jesus Christ the apocryphal doctrine about the Spirit, Wisdom or Word of God. In doing so he may to a certain extent have followed Philo in his ideal distinction between the Divine Spirit and the Divine Word, although Paul never uses the latter expression. The Apostle seems to assign to Christ before the days of His flesh, the same ideal existence which Philo assigns to the Divine Word or 'pattern' of mankind. But since, according to the apocryphal doctrine, the Spirit or Wisdom or Word of God was conceived as being in the beginning 'with God,' and as being 'present when God made the world,' the identifying of Christ with the

¹ See Strauss, 'Leben Jesu,' i. pp. 513, 964.

Spirit of God suffices to establish for the former that heavenly origin, that spiritual pre-existence which Paul so clearly claims for the second Adam. This pre-existence, as we have seen, is neither personal nor eternal, inasmuch as the proceeding of the Divine indwelling Spirit, as well as the conceiving of the aboriginal idea respecting man, presupposes the pre-existence of the eternal Creator, the Father of all, and thus also the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. Yet Paul might have said that in the beginning Christ was with God, even though he does not call him 'the Word' or 'the only-begotten Son.' For he applies to Christ the apocryphal definitions of 'the power of God and the wisdom of God.'¹ He says, that his 'preaching was not with enticing words of man's wisdom, but in demonstration of the spirit and of power;' he speaks 'not the wisdom of the world, . . . but the wisdom of God in a mystery, even the Hidden Wisdom, *which God ordained before the world* unto our glory,'² and which 'was kept secret since the world began.'³

This mystery, which was revealed by the secret doctrine of Jesus, and first publicly proclaimed by Paul, is by this Apostle defined as 'Christ within,' as the mystery of the eternal and universal indwelling mission of the Divine Wisdom or Word, which in the pre-Christian Apocrypha is called 'the Saviour of all.' Here it is said of Divine Wisdom, that 'the Creator of all things' did 'create' her 'from the beginning before the world,' and that 'in eternity' she shall 'not cease.'⁴ Wisdom 'came out of the mouth of the Most High, . . . dwelt in high places' (or 'on high'), and her 'throne was in a cloudy pillar.'⁵ The Creator of all things gave her commandment, and caused her 'tabernacle to rest,' and said: 'let thy dwelling be in Jacob, and thine inheritance in Israel.'⁶ 'In the holy tabernacle I served before him, and so was I established in Zion; likewise in the holy city he gave me rest,

¹ 1 Cor. i. 24.² ii. 4-7.³ Rom. xvi. 25.⁴ Ec. xxiv. 9, 10.⁵ xxiv. 3, 4.⁶ xxiv. 8.

CHAP.
V.

and in Jerusalem was my power, and I took root in an honourable people, even in the portion of the Lord's inheritance.'¹

This is the apocryphal doctrine of the incarnations of the Divine Wisdom, which were not confined to Israel, 'the first-born' and 'only begotten;' for 'in all ages' God poured her out on 'all flesh.' And this Divine Wisdom does not only dwell in the flesh, but also in spiritual bodies. Thus the writer of the book of Wisdom says: 'I was a witty child and had a good spirit; yea, rather being good, I came into a body undefiled.'² The Israelitic mind was thus gradually led to understand 'the mystery of godliness which was manifested in the flesh.'³ Wisdom having taken root in a chosen people, might be expected to take such root in a chosen individual of the chosen race, as to identify herself with the latter. Therefore the Israelite would cry out: 'Give me wisdom that sitteth by Thy throne, and reject me not from among Thy children.'⁴ In like manner had the Israelites in the desert cried to the Divine Wisdom, which from the beginning was 'with' God. 'When they were thirsty they called upon Thee, and water was given them out of the flinty rock, and their thirst was quenched out of the hard stone.'⁵ Again, when they were hungry, they were fed with 'angels food,' with heavenly 'bread prepared without their labour;' and it was through the Divine Wisdom or Word, 'which healeth all things,' that those who looked to the lifted up serpent, to the 'sign of salvation,' were saved by 'the Saviour of all.'⁶

It is because of the great mystery first openly proclaimed by Paul's gospel, because Christ is the Spirit, or Word or Wisdom of God, that Christ is called 'the spiritual rock,'⁷ 'the bread from heaven, the bread of

¹ Ec. xxiv. 10-12.

² viii. 19, 20.

³ 1 Tim. iii. 16. It is well known that the word 'God' in this passage is an interpolation, perhaps originally caused by the changing of two similar letters.

⁴ Wis. ix. 4.

⁵ xi. 4.

⁶ xvi.

⁷ 1 Cor. x. 4.

life,'¹ and that a comparison is made between the lifted up serpent and the lifted up Son of Man.²

CHAP.
V.

The second Adam must be obedient unto death; he must die the death of the righteous, in order to be a manifestation of glorified humanity, a living proof of the resurrection of the dead. As the second Adam, as the man after God's image, Christ was by the Apostle regarded as 'the first fruits of the Spirit,'³ 'the first fruits of them that slept.'⁴ Not that Christ was the first who was by God raised to life immortal. For though Paul designates Christ as 'the beginning, the first-born from the dead,'⁵ he insists on the fact of Christ's resurrection only on the ground of there being a general resurrection of the dead, 'for if the dead rise not, then is not Christ raised.'⁶ Here again Paul's doctrine and the apocryphal doctrine are identical, as will be seen from the following extracts:—

Resurrec-
tion.

'The ungodly said, . . . the righteous professeth to have the knowledge of God, and he calleth himself the child of the Lord, . . . and maketh his boast that God is his Father. Let us see if his words be true, and let us prove what shall happen in the end of him. For if the just man be the son of God, he will help him, and deliver him from the hand of his enemies. . . . Such things they did imagine, and were deceived; for their own wickedness hath blinded them. As for the mysteries of God,⁷ they knew them not, neither hoped they for the wages of righteousness, nor discerned a reward for blameless souls.

¹ John vi. 31-35.

² John iii. 14. It is not necessary therefore to refer to the tradition of the Targumists about Miriam's well, which followed the Israelites, encircling their entire camp till her death, after which time it was called forth by the striking of the rock at Kadesh, and by the digging of the well at Beer, till it finally ran into the Sea of Galilee (Stanley's Jewish Church, and Smith's Dictionary of the Bible). Both Paul and Onkelos refer to the apocryphal tradition recorded in the book of Wisdom. Similar passages may be found in other targums. Thus it is written, that the Messiah was in the desert 'the rock of the Church of Zion' (Targ. Jes. xvi. 1); and that he was with the first parents in paradise (Soh. Chad. f. lxxxii. 4).

³ Rom. viii. 23.

⁴ 1 Cor. xv. 20, 23.

⁵ Col. i. 18.

⁶ 1 Cor. xv. 18.

⁷ 1 Cor. iv. 1; xiii. 2; xiv. 2.

CHAP.
V.

For God created man to be immortal, and made him to be an image of his own eternity.¹ 'But the souls of the righteous are in the hand of God, and there shall no torment touch them. In the sight of the unwise they seemed to die, and their departure is taken for misery, and their going from us to be utter destruction; but they are in peace. For though they be punished in the sight of men, yet is their hope full of immortality. And having been a little chastised, they shall be greatly rewarded; for God proved them, and found them worthy for Himself. As gold in the furnace hath He tried them, and has been well pleased to receive them as a complete offering. And in the time of their visitation they shall shine, and run to and fro like sparks among the stubble. They shall judge the nations,² and have dominion over the people, and their Lord shall reign for ever.'³

'Though the righteous die early, yet shall he be at rest; . . . the righteous pleased God, and was beloved of Him, so that living among sinners he was translated;⁴ . . . he was made perfect in a short time; . . . the unrighteous shall not understand . . . to what end the Lord hath set him (the wise) in safety.'⁵ 'They shall be amazed at the strangeness of his salvation, so far beyond all that they looked for; . . . and they shall say within themselves: . . . How is he numbered among the children of God,⁶ and his lot is among the saints?'⁷ . . . the Sun of Righteousness rose not upon us; . . . we have not known the way of the Lord; . . . the righteous live for evermore, their reward also is with the Lord, and the care of them is with the Most High; therefore shall they receive a glorious kingdom, and the crown of beauty from the Lord's hand; for with His right hand shall He cover them, and with His arm shall He protect them. He shall take His jealousy for complete armour,⁸ and make crea-

¹ Wis. ii. 1, 13-23.

² 1 Cor. vi. 2, 3; Rom. xv. 12.

³ Wis. iii. 1-8.

⁴ Col. i. 13.

⁵ Wis. iv. 7-17.

⁶ Gal. iii. 26.

⁷ Rom. i. 7, &c.

⁸ Eph. vi. 13, 11; 2 Cor. vi. 7; Rom. xiii. 12.

tion His weapon¹ against the enemies; He shall put on righteousness as a breastplate, and serious judgment as an helmet; He shall take holiness as an invincible shield, His severe wrath shall he sharpen for a sword,² and the world shall fight with Him against the unwise.³

‘Immortality bringeth near unto God; therefore the desire of wisdom leadeth to dominion.’⁴ ‘By means of wisdom I shall obtain immortality; . . . to be allied to wisdom is immortality;’⁵ ‘thou hast power of life and death; thou leadest to the gates of hell, and bringest up again; . . . the soul received up does not come again;’⁶ ‘it is an easy thing unto the Lord in the day of death to reward a man according to his ways.’⁷

If, then, Paul’s doctrine of the resurrection of the dead is identical with that contained in the Apocrypha, how are we to interpret his expressions referring to Christ as the first-born among the dead? Christ being the first man who was conformed to the image of God according to the Creator’s primordial plan, His Divine nature was, as we have seen, essentially different from that of the first Adam and all his descendants. Others had been raised a spiritual body, but as the Son of God, as the perfect manifestation of the Divine Spirit, Christ was raised to the right hand of God, to the kingdom prepared from the beginning,⁸ where the crown of righteousness is laid up.⁹

The apocryphal doctrine that the Divine Spirit, as the first-born of every creature, is the organ of sanctification and immortality, and thus the medium of communion between the creature and the Creator, has been applied by Paul to Christ. Those who are moved by the Spirit of God or by Christ, those who are in Christ, have their ‘fruit unto holiness, and the end everlasting life; for the wages of sin is death, but the gift of God is eternal life through Jesus Christ.’¹⁰ ‘For we know, that if our earthly

¹ 2 Cor. x. 4. ² Eph. vi. 9, 14-17; 1 Thess. v. 8.

³ Wis. v. 2-20.

⁴ vi. 19, 20. ⁵ viii. 13, 17.

⁶ xvi. 13, 14.

⁷ Eccl. xi. 20.

⁸ 1 Cor. xv. 24; Col. i. 13.

⁹ 2 Tim. iv. 8; &c.

¹⁰ Rom. vi. 22, 23.

CHAP
V.

house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens; . . . we that are in this tabernacle do groan, being burdened.'¹

Angels
and Spirits.

The doctrine of angels and spirits, as contained in Paul's writings, is likewise in perfect harmony with the pre-Christian apocryphal doctrine.

Righteous-
ness.

The universality of God's saving love and righteousness by the grace of God, these are apocryphal doctrines which form the basis of Paul's system. In order fully to understand his doctrine of justification, it is necessary to know his doctrine about sin, and to show how the latter as well as the former has been by him developed in accordance with apocryphal pre-Christian principles. These we shall first consider. 'God created man to be immortal, and made him to be an image of His own eternity';² 'the root of wisdom shall never fall away';³ 'righteousness is immortal';⁴ but 'the tongue of man is his fall';⁵ those who will not learn wisdom 'fall away';⁶ 'he that sinneth shall offend against his own soul';⁷ 'into a malicious soul wisdom shall not enter, nor dwell in the body that is fallen unto sin';⁸ for 'the corruptible body presseth down the soul, and the earthy tabernacle weigheth down the mind that museth upon many things';⁹ 'the first Adam, bearing a wicked heart, transgressed and was overcome, and so be all they that are born of him; thus infirmity was made permanent';¹⁰ 'evil seed hath been sown in the heart of Adam';¹¹ 'flesh and blood will imagine evil';¹² 'O thou Adam, what hast thou done, for though it was thou that sinned, thou art not fallen alone, but we all that come of thee';¹³ 'flee from sin as from the face of a serpent';¹⁴ for 'no defiled thing can enter into . . . the breath of the power of God, and . . . pure influence

¹ 2 Cor. v. 1, 4; comp. Wis. ix. 15.³ Wis. iii. 15.⁴ i. 15.² Wis. ii. 23.⁵ Eccl. v. 13; xxviii. 18.⁶ Wis. vi. 9.⁷ Eccl. xix. 4.⁸ Wis. i. 4.⁹ ix. 15; 2 Es. ii. 11.¹⁰ 2 Esd. iii. 21, 22.¹¹ iv. 30.¹² Eccl. xvii. 31.¹³ 2 Esd. vii. 48.¹⁴ Eccl. xxi. 2

flowing from the glory of the Almighty ;¹ 'through envy of the devil came death into the world, and those meet with it who belong to him ;'² 'ungodly men with their works and words called . . . to them . . . poison of destruction . . . the kingdom of death ;'³ 'when the unrighteous man went away from wisdom in his anger, he perished ;'⁴ 'what profit is it unto us, if there be promised us an immortal time, whereas we have done the works that bring death.'⁵ But 'God made not death, neither hath He pleasure in the destruction of the living ;'⁶ 'God is patient with them, and poureth forth His mercy upon them ; He saw and perceived their end to be evil, therefore He multiplied His compassion ; the mercy of man is toward his neighbour, but the mercy of the Lord is upon all flesh ; He reproveth and nurtureth and teacheth and bringeth again, as a shepherd his flock.'⁷ Wisdom 'preserved the first formed father of the world, that was created alone, and brought him out of his fall ;'⁸ 'she found out the righteous and preserved him blameless unto God, and kept him strong in the tender love of a son ;'⁹ 'by the means of her I shall obtain immortality,'¹⁰ 'the root' of which is to know 'the power of God ;'¹¹ for 'to be allied unto wisdom is immortality.'¹²

From these extracts it follows that, although the first Adam was created immortal, and was destined to be the image of God, yet by evil thoughts and words, by sin, he drew upon him the kingdom of death ; so that by him sin and death came into the world, and that all who came from him fell a prey to the same. Having done the works that bring death, man cannot profit by the promise of immortality. But by the grace or mercy of God, that is by the operation of His Divine Spirit, fallen man has been brought back, as a shepherd brings back his flock. Even the first Adam was brought out of his fall by the

¹ Wis. vii. 25.

⁴ x. 3.

⁷ Eccl. xviii. 11-13.

¹⁰ Wis. vii. 13.

² ii. 24.

⁵ 2 Esd. vii. 49.

⁸ Wis. x. 1.

¹¹ xv. 3.

³ i. 16 ; xiv. 12.

⁶ Wis. i. 13.

⁹ x. 5.

¹² viii. 17.

CHAP.
V.

saving Spirit of God ; and in all ages being poured on all flesh, the Divine Saviour, the power of God, regenerated sons of men, and made them sons of God through righteousness, which, as we have seen, is the effect of Divine grace and human obedience. To know and believe in this saving power of God is the root of immortality.

Paul has shown, as we have pointed out, that Jesus is the Christ, that is the perfect manifestation of the Divine Spirit which in all ages has been poured on all flesh for the purpose of redemption. The Spirit of Christ being One with the Spirit of God, all the attributes and the mission of the Spirit has been applied and transferred by the Apostle to the second Adam. In the full sense of the word, and of the accomplished fact, it is henceforth no longer the Divine Spirit, but Christ, the perfect instrument of the same, who is the Saviour, the root of immortality. What is now required is faith in the power of God as manifested in and through the Man Jesus. This faith in the anointing power and in the anointed, this faith in Christ, leads to the righteousness which is the gift of God, and not the result of human works.

Atonement.

If righteousness comes by faith in the redeeming power of God, it follows necessarily that atonement or propitiation for sin must likewise be, in part at least, the result of a Divine operation of the Holy Spirit.

The law could not lead man to a perfect obedience in life and death to the dictates of the indwelling Saviour. A human manifestation of such obedience, even of an obedience unto death, was necessary. Thus the cross of Christ became the sign of salvation, for all who believe in the power and love of God. He was lifted up like the serpent in the wilderness as a sign of salvation,¹ as the type and visible manifestation of the Divine Word, of the indwelling 'Saviour of all.' Thus far the doctrine of Paul is in perfect harmony with the secret doctrine of Jesus as recorded by John. But Paul insisted upon it, that Christ

¹ Wis. xvi. 8, 7.

was made a 'curse'¹ for us, that his death was a 'ransom for all,'² which had to be paid before God could forgive man his trespasses. According to this Apostle, God must act as a stern judge before he can be the merciful Saviour. Before that any man who has 'come short of the glory of God' can be 'justified freely by His grace,' it is necessary that 'the redemption that is in Christ Jesus' be effected. Thus being set forth as 'a propitiation,' the benefit of that vicarious sacrifice of Christ Jesus is by God's 'forbearance' imputed or reflected upon every man who has 'faith in His blood.'³ The justification through the blood of Christ is therefore a necessary preliminary act of satisfaction. He paid the last farthing of humanity's debt; He was not spared from the wrath of God; but by willingly exposing Himself for a time to the effects of that wrath, his believing brethren are 'saved from wrath through Him;' they are treated as if they had not sinned; they are 'reconciled to God by the death of His Son;' and 'being reconciled are saved through His life,' have 'received the atonement.'⁴ In order to understand these and similar passages, we must bear in mind that Paul distinguishes the reconciler from the reconciling instrument.⁵ Now, according to the pre-Christian Hidden Wisdom, to the mystery which was kept secret since the world began, this reconciling mission has been entrusted to the Divine Word, 'the Saviour of all.' Christ secretly revealed himself as the perfect incarnation of the same, and as such Paul has proclaimed Him. With the attributes of the Word, the mission of the same was necessarily ascribed to the Man Jesus. For he had become the Anointed One according to God's eternal purpose, and through the medium of the indwelling Saviour. 'The ministry of reconciliation' was given to mankind in all ages, but it had remained a hidden mystery, until it was revealed by the secret preaching of Jesus Christ, and by Paul's procla-

¹ Gal iii. 13.² 1 Tim. 2-6.³ Rom. iii. 21-26.⁴ Rom. v. 9-11.⁵ 2 Cor. v. 18, 19; Eph. i. 5.

CHAP.
V.

mation of the same. When the promise was given to Abraham, that in his seed all nations should be blessed, the reconciling Spirit of God was and had been already at work, to remove the 'enmity' which disobedient man had created, and which was a barrier to a close union and communion with God. To such an extent, however, had the law, which was given 430 years after, made the promise of none effect, that whilst the Greeks sought for wisdom, the Israelites expected a sign. Thus the day which Abraham rejoiced to see was delayed, and when it came, its brightness was not understood by the benighted people, whose rulers had taken away the key of knowledge, and thus left them in the dark.

The key of the Hidden Wisdom was the revealed fact, that the Divine Word had been poured on all flesh, but in an especial degree on the chosen people. The rock and the serpent which in the wilderness prevented them from perishing were but symbols of the Divine Word which 'healeth all things.'¹ That 'spiritual rock' was Christ,² and like that serpent the Son of Man was lifted up as 'a sign of salvation.' Only by such a sign 'the ministry of reconciliation,' that is the Divine Spirit's redeeming mission of all ages, could be manifested in all its efficacy. In vain had God been beseeching the whole of mankind through His Spirit to be reconciled with Him. How often would 'the wisdom of God' have gathered in an especial manner the children of Jerusalem, but they would not. And even when 'the power of God and the wisdom of God' had become flesh, the Son of Man and Son of God was not received by His own. It was not till after the lifting up of the Son of Man as a sign of salvation that 'ambassadors of Christ' could pray both Jews and Gentiles 'in Christ's stead,' that they would be reconciled to God. Thus by the advocate or ambassador of the Divine Word, that is by the Lord Jesus, who 'is the Spirit,' and afterwards by the ambassadors of Christ, the mystery of

¹ Wis. xi. 4; xvi. 8, 7, 12.

² 1 Cor. x. 4.

the indwelling Saviour of all was revealed to mankind. We see, then, that the atoning Saviour who was crucified on Golgotha, in life and death was entirely at one with the Divine Word, was the perfect human manifestation of the same. The non-personal atoning Saviour had become personal in and through the sinless Man Jesus. The reconciling mission of all ages is henceforth superintended by the Son of Man who was raised to the right hand of God. Since the Spirit of God and the Spirit of Christ are identical, the atoning power from the beginning now proceeds from the Son as from the Father, both being one in the unity of the Spirit. All men are saved by the indwelling Saviour, who is now called 'Christ within,' inasmuch as 'the Lord is the Spirit.' What God has in all ages required of man is not his death but his consecration.

The question now arises, why Paul taught that all men were 'enemies' up to the time of Christ's atonement, and that unless God had 'made Him to be sin for us, who knew no sin,' we could not have been made 'the righteousness of God in Him.'¹ Why the 'curse,' and why the 'vengeance,' if God has in all ages accepted man's imperfect but sincere endeavours to follow the dictates of the indwelling Saviour; if He has through the same perfected men unto holiness, and given them the reward of immortality? We see that the doctrines of the Hidden Wisdom did not admit of such conclusions, and that Jesus could have been proclaimed as 'the power of God and the wisdom of God,' as the atoning Saviour, as the Christ or Messiah of the heavenly kingdom, without making Him a curse and a ransom for us. If then such an idea was contrary to the principles of the Hidden Wisdom which Jesus had sanctioned, developed and applied to himself, what reason can Paul have had to preach a doctrine which seems to militate against the moral attributes of God? We know that the Apostle proclaimed an erroneous

¹ 2 Cor. v. 21.

CHAP.
V.

doctrine with regard to the second coming of Christ. May not his doctrine of atonement *by blood* have been equally erroneous, or did he explain it metaphorically?

We must try to realise the circumstances in which Paul was placed. His principal object was to abolish the law, which, interpreted as it was by the Jews, had the tendency of making of none effect the anterior promise of universal salvation by faith. That law was given at a time when the chosen people as a whole had no idea about the indwelling Saviour. They knew that the name or Spirit of God was in the angel of His presence, but the glory of God was only known to them as an outward apparition, not yet as the abiding Shechina. It was not till later that the Divine glory, spirit, name, wisdom, or word was known to have taken 'root in an honourable people.' If then the law was literally interpreted, and if some among the most influential Israelites believed in nothing which was not expressly stated in the law, the entire doctrine of the Divine Spirit's mission in the heart of man could not possibly be understood or believed. Yet without the same the promise made to Abraham could never be fulfilled. Paul must therefore have considered it as of primary importance, to remove the obstacles to universal salvation by faith, which such erroneous views about the Sinaitic law had called into existence. It seems to be for this reason that he writes, that Christ died in order that He might nail to His cross 'the handwriting of ordinances that was against us, which was contrary to us.'¹ That which Christ 'took out of the way' and abolished were the deeds of the law, which the Scripture had ordained as necessary for righteousness. Henceforth righteousness is no longer of the law; it is 'without the deeds of the law;' it is by faith only. 'For if righteousness come by the law, *then Christ is dead in vain.*'² Now Christ's life and death was the perfect manifestation of righteousness by faith. Among the deeds of

¹ Col. ii. 14.

² Gal. ii. 21.

the law thus abolished was the slaying of the paschal lamb on the 14th Nisan, whereby atonement by blood and not by righteousness was understood to be typified. 'The life (or rather "*the soul*") of the flesh is in the blood,' and God has given it to Israel upon the altar 'to make an atonement' for their souls; 'for it is the blood (that is "the soul of the flesh") that maketh an atonement for the soul.'¹ In order to put an end to these yearly atonements by blood prescribed by the law, Christ became 'our passover.' In all ages righteous men had made propitiations by forsaking unrighteousness and by keeping the law.² God had received their souls as a complete offering and propitiation. Such individual atonements through righteousness had been made by faith and not by the deeds of the law. They consisted in 'faith which worketh by love;' not in 'burnt offerings or sacrifices,' but in giving heed to the Divine promise, that with God 'there is plenteous redemption;'³ they were regulated by the time-hallowed maxim, that 'to forsake unrighteousness is a propitiation,' and that God is not 'pacified for sin by sacrifices.'⁴ Of Samuel it is written in the pre-Christian Apocrypha, that 'after death . . . he lifted up his voice from the earth in prophecy, to blot out the wickedness of the people.'⁵ It was righteousness and not 'righteous blood' which did atone for sin, according to the hidden or reformed doctrine of the Israelites, the promulgation of which was strictly forbidden in Palestine. Here the atonement by the blood of the yearly slain paschal lamb would be implicitly believed, in accordance with the literal sense of the passage in Leviticus just quoted. And it may well be doubted whether the Apostles at Jerusalem were at first permitted by the rulers of the Jewish church to teach such a doctrine of Christ's atonement which would have rendered of no avail the continuance of the paschal rite. Indeed it is more than probable that the

The blood
means the
life.

¹ Levit. xvii. 11.

² Eccl. xxxv.

³ Ps. cxxx. 7.

⁴ Eccl. xxxv. 3; xxxiv. 19.

⁵ Eccl. xlvi. 20.

CHAP.
V.

twelve Apostles at first, in preaching the atonement of Christ, did content themselves to point out His having fulfilled the prophecy in Isaiah, by atoning through righteousness. How, then, was Paul to do away with this slaying of lambs, with the collecting and sprinkling of blood on the altar, to make 'an atonement for the soul?'

There was but one way for effecting the abolition of this rite. Paul had but to point out that Christ is our passover, as God's saint, whose *blood* is precious in His sight,¹ and ought to be precious in the sight of men; that He died for all, that God has set him forth to be a propitiation through faith '*in his blood, to declare his righteousness for the remission of sins that are passed,*' that in him 'we have redemption through his blood.' Above all, he had to show that Christ, in the night in which he was betrayed, when handing round the cup, designated the same as 'the new testament in his blood.'² Thus it was made clear that Christ had instituted a new paschal rite, and that henceforth it is no more the blood of the annual paschal lamb, but the blood of Christ, *as the type of his soul*, or of his life, which 'maketh an atonement for the soul,' and such an one as is all-sufficient.³ But it is not Christ's 'blood' in itself; it is his blood and righteousness, his pure soul, his sinless life, which makes the atonement. Paul distinctly states that it is the righteousness of Christ which has led to the remission of sins, and this righteousness is the effect of the grace of God and of Christ's perfect obedience. It may, therefore, not be unjustifiable to assume, that had it not been for the carnal mind of the Jews, which believed in the atoning virtue of blood as such, neither Christ nor Paul would have referred to blood as one of the elements of atonement. And although Paul has, under peculiar circumstances, ap-

¹ Ps. lxxii. 14.

² 1 Cor. xi. 25.

³ It is possible that we owe to Paul the preservation of the rite of the Lord's Supper. He left it to the Apostle John to dwell on the necessity of spiritually partaking of the same, and of regarding it as an outward act typifying an inward grace (John vi.).

parently separated the atoning death of Christ from his atoning life, yet if we separate Paul's doctrine of the atonement from the form in which he was obliged to adapt it to the exigencies of his time, we may come to the conclusion that, according to Paul's belief, as also according to the pre-Christian Apocrypha, it is the perfect righteousness of Christ's entire life which has made once and for ever a vicarious atonement for them that believe in the power of the Sun of Righteousness, of the Spirit of God which raised Him from the dead.

CHAP.
V.

Another reason suggests itself for Paul's having taught the atonement *by blood*. Christ was at One with the Divine Spirit, and mainly because of this identity the doctrine arose during the lifetime of Paul, that Christ's human nature cannot have been real, and must have been apparent only. This doctrine, which, as we shall see, may have been considered by some as sanctioned by the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, Paul opposed with all his power. Hence it became necessary to insist more especially on the reality of Christ's humanity. His atoning life was a life in the flesh, in the blood. If, then, 'the life of the flesh is in the blood,' the blood of Christ may be taken as the expression of the life of Christ. In harmony with the Levitic ordinance, it may be declared that it is the blood of Christ which maketh an atonement for the soul. By so doing, the blood of Christ, the existence of which the propagators of the new docetic doctrine denied, was insisted upon as an integral part of Christ's humanity. Thus also Paul could hope to abolish, as a last remnant of Levitical ordinances, the annual slaying of the paschal lamb on the 14th Nisan. Had Christ been crucified on this day instead of the next, Paul might have even gone so far as to call Christ the Lamb, or the Lamb of God. But though we do not find either of these expressions in any of the Paulinic epistles, we yet may assert that in the sense above described Paul did regard Christ as 'our passover,' and therefore as the Lamb of God.

The blood
a proof of
humanity.

CHAP.
V.

Christ our
Passover.

The great redemption typically foreshadowed on the 15th Nisan in Egypt was fully accomplished on that same day of the month in Golgotha. That highday of Salvation had been preceded both in Egypt and in Palestine by the slaying of the paschal lamb. Before Moses led away his people from the bondage of the Egyptians to the typical land of promise, and so likewise before Christ led away his people from the bondage of sin to the promised heavenly paradise of God, the paschal lamb was slain and eaten. But the disciples of Christ were commanded to solemnise this rite no longer in remembrance of Egypt, but in remembrance of their Divine Master, whom in a little while they should see condemned to death, crucified, and raised from the dead. And even this reformed paschal rite was shortly to be abolished by the Apostle of righteousness by faith, without the deeds of the law.

It would seem to have been Paul who in Christ's spirit abolished the rite of slaying the paschal lamb, which ceased to be regarded as a suitable sign of salvation. The blood of the lifted-up Son of Man was regarded as the sign of that salvation which in all ages the Divine Word had striven to accomplish in and for man. The great Prophet, like Moses, raised up from the midst of Israel, from among the brethren, had fulfilled the Divine promise contained in the gospel revealed unto Abraham, that in him all nations shall be blessed ; and this not by bloody sacrifices of men or of beasts, but by faithful obedience, by the offering up of the heart unto God. This 'covenant, that was confirmed before of God in Christ,' had been apparently disannulled by the law which, '430 years after,' was revealed unto Moses. The covenant on Sinai, as interpreted by the Jews, threatened to 'make of none effect' the promise contained in the covenant which was confirmed of God in Ur of the Chaldees, that is, the promise which God made in the beginning, that man should be restored to the image of God. As through Abraham human sacrifices were laid aside, so through

Christ, as revealed by Paul, the sacrifice of the paschal lamb was set aside, although the Lord had eaten the same with his Jewish disciples on the day preceding his death on the cross. It is the perfect righteousness of Christ which has made the perfect atonement. His righteousness was the result of unmeasured Divine grace, and of his perfect obedience, which culminated in his bloody death on the cross. But so deeply rooted in the Jewish nation was the typical atonement by blood, and so dangerous was the anti-apostolic doctrine which denied the humanity and therefore the blood of Christ, that even the perfect atonement by righteousness was by the Apostle connected with 'the blood' of the atoning Saviour.

Thus the blood and the righteousness of Christ have become inseparably connected. His righteousness is not the righteousness of an angel or spirit who appeared in the veil of the flesh, but it is the perfect obedience of a human being, whose human nature became absorbed by his divine nature. As the blood pervades the whole body, so the leaven of the Spirit pervades the whole lump. To partake of Christ's fulness is therefore to partake of His Spirit, of the new leaven, whereby, 'as our passover, Christ is sacrificed for us.'¹ By this mystery of Christ's spiritual dwelling in us and we in him, our whole lump, our flesh and blood, becomes purged or cleansed from all sin by the Spirit of Christ, or, to use the Apostle's metaphor, by the blood of Christ. In this sense it is now, as of old, 'the blood which maketh an atonement for the soul.' But that which makes the atonement now is no longer 'the old leaven,' but 'the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth;' it is no longer the blood of the temporary covenant made with Moses, but 'the blood of the everlasting covenant' made with and through Christ. Like the first covenants made with Abraham and with Moses, the everlasting covenant was made with flesh and blood, with 'the seed . . . to whom

¹ 1 Cor. v. 6 f.

CHAP.
V.

the promise was made,'¹ with Christ, who, 'according to the flesh,' was 'made of the seed of David,' but who, according to the Spirit, was the Son of God. Because Christ resisted the temptations to which flesh and blood are exposed, the body and blood of Christ was the temple of that self-same Spirit which in all ages had been poured on all flesh, but which in the promised descendant of Abraham had been manifested as a perfect incarnation of the sanctifying Spirit from above. Per- vaded by the spirit of holiness, the body and blood of Christ became sanctified, and an integral part of the Divine incarnation. 'In him dwelt the fulness of the Godhead *bodily*,' that is, in flesh and blood. It was in consequence of His perfect obedience that the Divine Spirit was given Him 'without measure;' and it was in consequence of the harmonious co-operation of the will or Spirit of Christ with the will or Spirit of God, that the first fruit of the unresisted spiritual operation, the first-born among many brethren, was conformed to the image of God. By Christ's perfect obedience unto death, all that is at enmity with God was abolished in the flesh, the creature became reconciled with the Creator by 'the righteousness of One,' through which 'the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life.' The Holy Ghost was given unto men in all ages as a free gift unto righteousness, but because of man's disobedience it could not be given without measure. Yet nothing short of this was required to conform man to the image of God. The last and highest test of man's obedience is that which leads unto death. Christ passed through this ordeal, not for His sake, but for the sake of the 'ungodly.' Christ died for us as he lived for us, 'leaving us an example,' that in life and in death we should 'follow in his steps.'

In this sense only has Christ, 'the first-born,' been offered up for the transgression of his brethren. What in accordance with the apocryphal doctrine about the atone-

¹ 1 Pet. ii. 21; Rom. xv. 5.

ment had been said by the unknown prophet in Babylon of 'the righteous servant,' be he Israel or a single individual of that race, has been in the above sense said or may be thus said of Christ. In a higher sense of the word, because in the highest degree, *his soul* was made an offering for sin, and thus he bore the iniquities of many who were justified, not merely by the sufferings of his death, not by his blood only, but by the live-long travail of his soul, and by his knowledge.¹ God does not require a scape-goat on whom all the sin of mankind and its punishment is to be laid; his 'vengeance' does not require to vent itself on an innocent ransom, prepared by him as a substitute, who though the image of God, shall bear the sins of those who are to be conformed to that image. The Holy Spirit from above has not failed to fulfil his saving work; and although the latter has been fully accomplished but once, in and through the Man Jesus, yet the predestinated final aim of God's salvation, that He shall be all in all, will most assuredly be realised in times and worlds to come. It will be accomplished through the atoning and justifying mediation of that self-same Spirit, the great power from the beginning, the fulness of God which dwelt bodily in the Man Jesus Christ. The liberty of the Creator cannot be restrained by the liberty of the creature wrongly applied. Man having been restored to the Divine image in the person of Jesus, the effect of Divine grace and of human obedience has been fully set forth. By the perfect obedience of the second Adam all has been regained what the disobedience of the first Adam had lost. By Christ's entire life of obedience the Lord has more fully shown to man what He requires of him, namely, to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with his God.² The God who pardons iniquity³ has not commanded burnt offerings or sacrifices of any kind for atonement, but only obedience to the Divine voice.⁴ He will at all times

¹ Is. liii. 10, 11. ² Mic. vi. 8. ³ Mic. vii. 18. ⁴ Jer vii. 21-23; Ps. xl. 4.

CHAP.
V.

‘abundantly pardon’¹ if men will but return from their evil ways, if they will propitiate for their sin by *forsaking it*.² The God of love and mercy, who desires the sinner to live, will not despise a broken and a contrite heart, but will give His renewing Spirit to them that ask it. Thus made righteous by the grace of God, the souls of all the righteous have been in all ages accepted as a complete offering and satisfaction for sin. How much more must perfect righteousness in life and death be a means of reconciling sinful mankind with God! However imperfectly man may follow this perfect example, inferior as his obedience must be to Christ’s obedience, which is the source of his perfect righteousness, yet, if like Him, man has faith in the redeeming power of God’s Spirit, he shall be in a measure conformed to the image of God’s Son, and, like him, he shall overcome the world. Christ’s perfect righteousness will be aimed at by man, and thus it will be imputed unto him. It is enough to *strive* after perfect righteousness. *God accepts the will for the deed*. Because Christ lives, we shall live also. Though we sin we can be saved by Christ within us, that is, by the Divine Spirit which proceeds from Christ at the right hand of God. Because Christ is the perfect embodiment of the Divine Spirit, it is the redeeming Spirit of God in Christ by whom ‘all that believe are justified from all things, from which they could *not* be justified by the law of Moses.’³ It is *no* mystery that the life of the flesh is in the blood. If, then, the word ‘blood’ serves to denote the life, then the great mystery is, that the blood or life of Christ cleanses from all sin, and that the Son of God can be *born in* man. It is an absolute, though mysterious fact for the child of God that *all* things are possible to the Almighty, and that all things are *ours* through faith in the indwelling Saviour. By the power of God, man may himself, like Jesus, become a more or less true instrument of the power of God and the

¹ Is. lv. 7.

² Eccl. xxxv. 1, 3.

³ Acts xiii. 39.

Wisdom of God. As Christ is God's, so Christians are Christ's. CHAP.
V.

Having compared Paul's doctrine of the atonement with that contained in the Apocrypha, we come to the conclusion that the difference between the former and the latter is not merely one of form, but such as the Apostle deemed necessary to meet the exigencies of his dark times. The doctrine of atonement *by blood* is therefore the only exception to the general rule, that Paul has applied to Christ the attributes and the offices which the Apocrypha had applied in the pre-Christian times to the indwelling Spirit from above. This is what we should expect from the pupil of Gamaliel, the son and the grandson of two of the most renowned doctors of apocryphal tradition. And when Paul writes about himself that he was 'exceedingly zealous of the traditions of his fathers,'¹ he seems to refer to those very apocryphal traditions which had been instrumental in revealing to him the mysteries of 'the Hidden Wisdom.'

We have seen that the principal doctrines of apocryphal tradition received their highest sanction, development and application by the doctrine and the life of Christ. If then Paul's gospel was in general harmony with the principles laid down in the Apocrypha, how comes it that the Apostle speaks of his gospel as of 'another gospel, which is not another.'² It cannot have been really another gospel, that is, it cannot have differed from the genuine Gospel of Christ. For Paul declares the same to have been revealed to him by the risen Christ Himself; moreover the doctrine of Paul, like that of Christ, was developed from a common source. We have established the fact that Christ during his days in the flesh spoke only in parables to the people, that even when in rare instances he spoke more openly to his disciples about 'the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven,' he was often, if not generally, misunderstood by His chosen disciples as a

¹ Gal i. 14.

² Gal. i. 6, 7.

CHAP.
V.

body, and that consequently the gospel preached by the Apostles at Jerusalem cannot have been in perfect harmony with the Gospel of Christ. From this it follows that if Paul did preach the pure, though further developed principles of Christ's doctrine, his gospel must have been 'another gospel' when compared with the gospel promulgated by the twelve Apostles. On the other hand, it must have been 'not another' when compared with the more comprehensive principles of Christ's doctrine, which we have even now sufficient means of approximatively ascertaining, by comparing the apocryphal scriptures of Egypt and of Palestine with the sayings of Christ, as recorded in the first three gospels.

The Gospel of Paul was not the gospel proclaimed by the twelve Apostles, but it was the Gospel of Christ. Paul insists upon the novelty of his gospel. 'The Hidden Wisdom which God ordained before the world,'¹ 'was kept secret since the world began,'² and up to the fulness of time, when it was cautiously and incompletely proclaimed in parables by Christ to the chosen people, and when the chosen disciples were informed 'in secret' of as much of it as they could then 'bear.' Although his disciples as a body do not seem to have understood all the mysteries revealed to them by their Master, yet we are forced to assume in the outset, and before we consider the contents of the gospels, that some of Christ's disciples did in a measure understand 'the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven.' But even their imperfect 'knowledge in the mystery of Christ,'³ they would not be permitted to promulgate among the people. The Pharisees and Sadducees, as overseers of the Jewish church, would prevent them from proclaiming 'on the housetops' what they had heard in secret. Like the apocryphal doctrine, the Christian doctrine would be promulgated chiefly by verbal tradition in Palestine. And it may well be doubted whether the sayings of Christ, as recorded by Matthew, were not re-

¹ 1 Cor. ii. 7.

² Rom. xvi. 25.

³ Eph. iii. 4.

vised and amended by Judaising Scribes and doctors of the law, even during the apostolic period. We must assume then, that partly owing to the incapability of the twelve Apostles fully to understand the mysteries of Christ, and partly in consequence of the rigid and exclusive government of the Jewish rulers, 'the preaching of Jesus Christ' was in a great degree enveloped in Judaising formulas, at the time when Paul was led to behold the full light of 'the glorious Gospel of Christ,' and to restore the same to its original purity.

The genuine Gospel of Christ, that is, the gospel destined '*afterwards* to be revealed,' was by Paul communicated to those who had been apostles *before* him. He expressly informs us that they communicated to him '*nothing new*,'¹ and he insinuates that even the twelve Apostles were 'shut up unto the faith which should *afterwards* be revealed,'² and which in fact had been first openly proclaimed through himself. 'The respected persons,' or 'the persons of reputation,' who '*seemed* to be pillars,' had to be taught that with God 'there is no respect of persons,'³ and that he (Paul) was 'not a whit' behind them,⁴ since the true Gospel of Christ, the gospel of righteousness by faith only and without the deeds of the law, had been fully revealed to him. It was he who, 'as a wise master-builder,' had 'laid the foundation' of Christ's Church.⁵ 'Let him be accursed,' though he be 'an angel from heaven,' who shall preach 'any other gospel' than that which Paul has preached openly among the Gentiles, but '*privately*' to the Apostles at Jerusalem, inasmuch as the Pharisees, who had taken away the key of knowledge, did so jealously watch over them, that 'of the rest' of the Christians 'durst no man join himself to them.'⁶ The Apostle implies that the foolish of this world are the Jews, and the wise of this world are the Greeks. For whilst 'the Jews require a sign, . . . the Greeks seek after wisdom.' None have

¹ Gal. ii.² Gal. iii. 23.³ Comp. Eccl. xxxv. 12.⁴ 2 Cor. xi. 5.⁵ 1 Cor. iii. 10, 11.⁶ Acts v. 13.

CHAP.
V.

come to the knowledge of God, but the Greeks are in the right direction. For whilst seeking after wisdom, they at least acknowledge the Divine Wisdom or Word to be the medium of communion with God, and therefore the medium of the knowledge of God. But they 'seek after' that which they might have dwelling in them and leading them into all truth, if they but felt their need of such a Saviour, and obeyed the voice of the same. The Jews, on the other hand, do not seek after wisdom at all, but expect signs, or outward manifestations of the hidden power of God, without which they will not believe in it. Owing to their selfish rulers, the Jews have lost 'the key of knowledge.'

Yet 'it pleased God, by the foolishness of preaching, to save them that believe.' It pleased Him to make use of the weaker vessel, in order to make more fully manifest and perfect His grace in and through the weak. The chosen people, although its preaching was foolish, was predestinated to be the medium of salvation for all believers, whether Jews or Greeks. The Greeks had the elementary knowledge of the wisdom of God, but the Jews had some, though conflicting, ideas about a prophet like Moses, a Messiah. The Greeks, or generally the Gentiles, ought by wisdom have been led to expect as Messiah a perfect embodiment of the Divine Word; and the Israelites ought by their Messianic expectations have been led to seek after wisdom, so as to know the personal manifestation of the same in the fulness of time. The great anointed One, the heavenly Christ, came not among the Gentiles who expected none, but among those who looked for Him that should come. He came, not as the Jews had been led to expect Him, but as the Greeks might be led to acknowledge Him. He came as 'the Wisdom of God,' and this was 'unto the Jews a stumbling block.' He was crucified, and the preaching of 'Christ crucified' was 'unto the Greeks foolishness.' The Jews stumbled at the doctrine of Wisdom, the Gentiles at the doctrine of the

Cross. The knowledge of the one had to be ingrafted on the other, before the Messianic mystery could be solved.

Although, therefore, Paul preached to Jews and Gentiles 'Christ the power of God and the wisdom of God,' yet he did so 'not with wisdom of words, lest the cross of Christ should be made of none effect;' ¹ he came not 'with excellency of speech or of wisdom,' not 'with enticing words of man's wisdom;' but he spoke 'wisdom among them that are perfect; yet not the wisdom of this world, nor of the princes of this world which come to nought,' but he spoke 'the wisdom of God in (a) mystery, even the Hidden Wisdom, which God ordained before the world unto our glory.'² Paul preached not the 'fleshly wisdom,' ³ not the wisdom which 'descendeth not from above;' ⁴ but 'the depth of the Wisdom of God,' ⁵ the 'word of wisdom' which is 'given . . . by the Spirit,' ⁶ the wisdom by which 'Christ's words dwell in us.'⁷ But this wisdom was a 'mystery' which had been 'hid from ages,' ⁸ which God had 'hid . . . from the wise and intelligent, and revealed to babes,' ⁹ which was in part even hidden from the Lord's chosen Apostles; ¹⁰ which was hidden from Jerusalem; ¹¹ and which was hidden by some of the Apostles who were entrusted with the proclaiming of the same.¹² It was the wisdom of 'the hidden man of the heart' which Peter preached; ¹³ which Hidden Wisdom, though still in a mystery, Paul proclaimed in light and on the house-tops, by his preaching Christ within,¹⁴ so that he could say: 'If our gospel be hid, it is hid to the lost.'¹⁵ He was conscious of his mission, which consisted in bringing to light the glorious Gospel of Christ, and thus to fulfil the Lord's saying, that 'there is nothing hid that shall not

¹ 1 Cor. i. 17.² 1 Cor. ii. 1-7.³ 2 Cor. i. 12.⁴ Jam. iii. 15.⁵ Rom. xi. 33.⁶ 1 Cor. xii. 8.⁷ Col. iii. 16.⁸ Col. i. 26.⁹ Mat. xi. 25; Luke x. 21.¹⁰ Luke ix. 45; xviii. 34.¹¹ Luke xix. 42.¹² Mat. xxv. 18, 25.¹³ 1 Pet. iii. 4.¹⁴ Rom. viii. 10; Gal. ii. 20; Col. iii. 4.¹⁵ 2 Cor. iv. 3.

CHAP.
V.

be known.’¹ From the time of his conversion, the object of his life may be described in the words which we find in the book of Wisdom: ‘As for Wisdom, what she is, and how she came up, I will tell you, and will not hide mysteries from you; but will seek her out from the beginning of her nativity, and bring the knowledge of her into light, and will not pass over the truth.’² Thus he was at once the successor and the forerunner of Christ, who will ‘bring to light the hidden things of darkness.’³

We now understand why Paul preached his gospel ‘openly among the Gentiles,’ but ‘privately’ to the Apostles at Jerusalem.⁴ These continued to be carefully watched and restricted in their operations by the Pharisees, who must have then more rigorously than ever forbidden any public teaching of apocryphal or Hidden Wisdom. Had Paul dared to preach among the Jews of Palestine as openly as he did among the Gentiles, his ‘other gospel,’ which was so different from the one which the other Apostles were permitted to proclaim, then he would probably have been prevented by persecutions from the fulfilling of his mission, and thus have ‘run in vain.’

Yet it was not only in Palestine that he was opposed. As Paul did not ‘give place by subjection’ to the Apostles at Jerusalem, so neither did these, nor all the Christian communities with which Paul was in communication, at once yield to Paul. Even Peter, though he had evidently made a near approach to Paul, yielded or gave place by subjection to the deputation which James, the head of the Apostles at Jerusalem, sent to him, whilst he was with Paul at Antioch. And as Paul accused Peter and ‘the other Jews’ of hypocritical and Judaising tendencies, so the Apostle accuses the Corinthians, that they ‘bear it admirably,’ if others than himself or his disciples preach unto them ‘another Jesus’ and ‘another Gospel;’⁵ and

¹ Mat. x. 26.

² Wis. vi. 22.

³ 1 Cor. iv. 5.

⁴ Gal. ii. 2.

⁵ 2 Cor. xi. 3, 4.

he laments that some are 'so soon removed' from him, who called them 'into the grace of Christ, unto another gospel.'¹ His epistles show that Judaizing influences opposed Paul's teaching the liberty of Christ's Gospel, even in such churches where his influence was great.²

To meet these obstacles, Paul seems to have instructed Luke, his disciple and travelling companion, to remodel the sayings of Christ as recorded by Matthew, and to harmonise them with the principles of the true doctrine of Christ. A minute comparison between the Gospel after Matthew and the Gospel after Luke will show in what manner this important work has been carried out by Luke and his successors. We shall then be able to judge in what sense the two accounts may be severally and conjointly accepted as genuine and authoritative. The result of this investigation will be, that the Gospel after Matthew contains only some of Christ's publicly proclaimed sayings, to the exclusion of those which he addressed in secret to his disciples only, whilst some passages have been at some time or another interpreted in such a form as to militate against the Spirit of Christ. These defects had been occasioned by the Pharisaical rule. To obliterate them, or at least to render them more harmless, without at once publishing the complete record of Christ's secret doctrine, the words of Christ have been in the Gospel after Luke put before the world in that new form which the absence of a rigidly enforced church government had rendered possible, and which the fuller revealed light of Christ's Gospel had rendered more or less necessary. A fruitless attempt having been made by the framers of the Gospel 'after' Mark to leave out the principal points of difference between Matthew's and Luke's Gospels, and to harmonise the rest, Paul's own example, of not referring to the sayings of Christ, was somewhat followed by the editor of the fourth Gospel. Without referring either to the original Palestinian or to the reformed Paulinic

¹ Gal. i. 6.² Rom. xiv. 2, 3; Col. ii. 16, 17; Phil. iii. 2 f.

CHAP.
V.

record of Christ's public sayings, he showed what Christ did teach to his disciples 'in secret and in darkness,' and what he would have spoken openly and not in parables unto the people, if circumstances had permitted his doing so. The sayings of Christ contained in the fourth Gospel originated in an entirely independent apostolical source; and they were kept secret for a long time under circumstances which we have even now the means of ascertaining. We hope to prove that the discourses of the Lord in the fourth Gospel must be taken as the authentic exponents of the apocryphal doctrine as sanctioned and applied by Christ.

Paul and
Apollos.

Serious as the opposition against Paul was in Palestine, yet more formidable was the one which Paul's Gospel had to encounter from persons not directly connected with the apostolic body at Jerusalem. The Judaising party had opposed Paul, because he had openly proclaimed and more fully developed than even Christ himself had done in secret, the doctrine of Jewish reform, and its application. Yet there were others, as perhaps Apollos, who were not satisfied with Paul's keeping back 'the meat' and his distributing only 'the milk' of Christ's Gospel: 'I have fed you with milk, and not with meat: for hitherto ye were not able to bear it, neither yet now are able.'¹ The Apostle proves his assertion by pointing to the 'envying, and strife and divisions,' which had led to four distinct parties in the Corinthian church, every member of which declared that he belonged either to Paul or Apollos or Cephas or Christ.² From this it seems to follow, that in the opinion of many, Paul had purposely kept back some of the developments and applications of Christ's doctrine, which he foresaw would divide the Church. Be this as it may, Paul was satisfied to have, by the grace of God, 'as a wise master-builder . . . laid the *foundation*,' other than which 'can no man lay, . . . which is Jesus Christ.' He complains that '*another* buildeth thereupon,' and adds:

¹ 1 Cor. iii. 2 f.

² i. 12.

‘ Let every man take heed *how* he buildeth thereupon.’
 ‘ I have planted, Apollos watered.’

CHAP.
 V.

If Apollos had done no more than to further the growth of the seed which Paul had planted, the Apostle would not have included him in the warning, which in fact is directed against Apollos himself in the first instance, to ‘take heed’ how such superstructure and further development is carried out. Nor would the partisans of Apollos have separated themselves from those of Paul, unless the doctrine of the latter had been, if not partly set aside, at least in such a degree developed as to undermine one or more of the essential doctrines of the Apostle. Again, if the cause of this separation had not been a doctrinal one, in condemning the same, Paul would not have urged the Corinthians, that they shall ‘all speak the same thing, and that there be no divisions’ among them. This view of the separation of the party of Apollos from that of Paul is further confirmed by what we may now assert as at least a probable fact, that the separation of the Paulinic party in the Corinthian church from that of Peter, and likewise from that called after Christ, had also been caused by doctrinal differences. We have already pointed out, although somewhat forestalling the results of our Gospel-investigations, that the doctrine of Christ is but faintly and incompletely expressed by the sayings of the Lord as recorded by Matthew. If so, it can hardly be doubted that those who formed the party of Christ in the Corinthian church did regard the only then existing apostolic record of the sayings of the Lord as a perfect exponent of his doctrine. The party of Peter probably took an intermediate position between the party of Christ and that of Paul, by recognising, like the former, the written sayings of the Lord, but by interpreting, and possibly developing them in accordance with the principles of Christ’s secret tradition first proclaimed by Paul. What leads us to assume this is the fact that Peter had nearly joined himself to Paul, that James thought it necessary to send a deputation to

CHAP.
V.

Antioch, which remonstrated with Peter and caused him somewhat to loosen the bonds which united him with the Apostle of the Gentiles. And as regards the party of Paul, or the *true* party of Christ, it is probable that its members were guided less by the written sayings of Christ than by the 'other Gospel' of Paul, which was by them regarded as a necessary complement to the primitive doctrine of Christ as recorded and promulgated by the twelve Apostles.

If then not merely formal but dogmatical differences have caused the formation of the first three mentioned parties in the Church at Corinth, we are in the outset compelled to admit that possibly similar causes led to the formation of the Apollonian party. We have seen that Paul refers to the latter especially, and this in such a manner as to show that in his opinion there would be no such divisions among the Corinthians, if they all spoke the same thing. In the next chapter we shall point out the strong reasons which support the almost generally accepted hypothesis, that Apollos is the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and that it was originally addressed to his countrymen, the Jewish Christians of Alexandria. We shall then show that this probably Apollonian Epistle seems to be identical with the Epistle 'to the Alexandrians,' which in the so-called Muratorian list, containing the most ancient account we possess of the books forming the New Testament, is repudiated as heretical. Again, we shall point out that, according to the same venerable authority, Paul wrote to the Corinthians for the express purpose of warning them against 'the schism of heresy;' and that Paul's contemporary, Clement of Rome, in his Epistle to the Corinthians, again warns the members of this church against their falling a second time into the errors which already in Paul's time threatened to undermine the purity of the Christian doctrine. Finally we shall, by a minute comparison of the Epistle to the Hebrews with the Epistles of Paul, try to show, that in some passages of the former the reality of

Christ's humanity is apparently drawn in question, and that this supposed non-recognition of one of the fundamental principles of Paul's doctrine led probably to the strengthening of that docetic system of the Simonians, which in the second century received its final development by the docetic gnostic Marcion.

We have now to consider how Paul met the gnostic or rather docetic opposition of false teachers. In his principal and earlier epistles, those to the Romans, Corinthians, and Galatians, Paul had plainly and broadly laid down the principles which were to form the foundation of his gospel, that is, the principles referring to the head and cornerstone of the entire fabric, to Jesus Christ. In the face of those who preached 'another Jesus' and 'another Gospel,' Paul preached the universal Saviour as Jesus and as Christ, as One who, according to the flesh, was 'made of the seed of David,' that is, in accordance with the law of carnal commandment contained in Genesis, and who, according to the Spirit, was the Son of God. Thus Paul insisted with equal force on the reality of the Saviour's humanity as Jesus, and on the reality of the Saviour's divinity as Christ. The Apostle had declared him to be the 'Man,' the 'second Adam,' in whom all should be made alive. At the same time he had pointed to Him as 'the spiritual rock' which accompanied the Israelites through the desert. Although believing in Israel's Messianic future, Paul does not seem to have expected 'another' advocate of the indwelling Messiah of all ages. It was the anointed Jesus, whose return, no longer as a 'Christ in the flesh,' but as a spiritual manifestation of the Messianic Spirit which was breathed into the first Adam,¹ he expected in those days for the final fulfilment of Messianic promises.

Such ideas were perfectly intelligible to those who were more or less acquainted with the apocryphal doctrine, the Hidden Wisdom, which had caused the Jewish

¹ 2 Cor. v. 16.

CHAP.
V.

national faith to undergo an essential reform during and after the Babylonian captivity. To all such it could be no mystery that Paul had identified Christ with the Spirit of God, and had attributed to the former all the attributes and offices of the latter. The Spirit, Word or Wisdom of God, which was in the beginning created by God and was 'with' God; which in all ages had been poured on all flesh for the purpose of anointing and thus redeeming the same; which as a flinty rock had followed the Israelites, which had throned in the cloudy pillar, dwelt in the tabernacle, and had taken root in an honourable people; the Divine Spirit which is the brightness (or mirror) of the everlasting light, the unspotted mirror of the power of God, and the image of His goodness; which dwells with the sons of men, making them sons of God; the Divine medium of sanctification and immortality is the spiritual rock from heaven, which became incarnate in Jesus, who thus became the human embodiment of the Divine 'power' which worketh in us both to will and to do of His good pleasure, the absolutely perfect advocate of that Divine Spirit which testifies to our spirit that we are the children of God.

This doctrine about the perfect identity of Jesus the Anointed with the anointing Spirit of God, was developed by Paul without in the least degree undermining thereby his fundamental doctrine of Christ's subjection to God. Exalted to a heavenly dominion, raised to the right hand of God, to a participation in the Divine government of the world, the perfect incarnation of the Divine Spirit, the embodied fulness of God, Jesus Christ, the Son of Man and the Son of God, has for a time had all things put under Him by His Father, by God, who is 'the head of Christ.'¹ But although for a time the subjection of the Son to the Father has been suspended, yet when all things shall be subdued unto the Son, He also Himself shall be 'subject unto Him that put all things under

¹ 1 Cor. xv. 27, 28; xi. 3.

Him, that God may be all in all.' For as God is the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, so in like manner is God the Father of all; the Spirit of God is in Christ, and the Spirit of Christ in us; we 'are Christ's and Christ is God's.'¹ Thus to have Christ within us is to have God within us, like the Immanuel-Israel of Messianic fulfilment.

Having in his earlier epistles comprehensively delineated the subordinate relations between the Son and the Father, the Apostle could more freely enlarge on the equality of the Creator and of His created image in the flesh. This equality is due to the oneness of the Spirit of Christ with the Spirit of God, to the infinite and absolutely Divine character of His spiritual nature, to the subjection of the finite to the infinite, which latter by pervading the finite body of Jesus became all in all in Jesus Christ. The Spirit of God came down from heaven, it pervaded a human body, and through the perfect obedience of this 'earthen vessel,' it became one with the same, it became man and made the latter the perfect organ or instrument of the Divine power. It was not the mysterious infinite person of the Creator, not the supermundane source of the Divine Spirit, which became directly identical with the finite person of the second Adam. It was the 'pure influence flowing from the glory of the Almighty,'² the 'holy spirit from above,' the 'word' created by 'the Holy One,' the 'wisdom' which in the beginning 'came out of the mouth of the Most High,'³ and which has left 'the holy heavens' in order to be 'present' with man; it was the 'Divine grace' poured on all flesh in all ages, which conformed the anointed Man Jesus to the image of God, thus making Him the Christ, the God-Man, the predestinated ideal of humanity.

'The schism of *heresy*' which had been caused in the Corinthian church, possibly by the instrumentality of Apollos, and which caused the Apostle to write the first Epistle to the Corinthians, must have threatened to

¹ 1 Cor. iii. 23.² Wis. vii. 25.³ Eccl. xxiv. 3.

CHAP.
V.

undermine the foundation which Paul had laid, that is, his fundamental doctrine of the humanity and divinity of Christ. Now, if we regard Apollos as the probable author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, we can establish by this document a certain difference between the doctrine of Apollos and that of Paul. Here we find, as we shall presently point out more fully, an apparent denial of the reality of Christ's human nature. He is without father, without mother, without descent, not made of the seed of David, or according to the law of carnal commandment; His days in the flesh might therefore be regarded by some as merely apparitions in the veil of the flesh. Anyhow, the tenor of the later epistles of Paul confirms the hypothesis, that the Apostle thereby wished to oppose the then prevailing spirit of Antichrist, which denied that Christ has come in the flesh. When referring to the anti-Christian spirit prevailing during the apostolic period, the Apostle John speaks of 'many Antichrists,' and states: 'They went out *from* us, but they were not *of* us; for if they had been of us, they would no doubt have *continued* with us, but they went out that they might be made manifest that they were (or rather "are") not all of us.'¹ It must be admitted that what is here said about the many Antichrists might, especially at a later period, be applied even to Apollos and his party. For Apollos had joined the Apostles, and was regarded as belonging to them. Had he really continued of one mind with them, how could the Apollonian party have separated from that called after Paul? This cannot now be decided. But we know, that the Simonians then preached the docetic heresy.

In writing his latter epistles, Paul's object seems to have been a twofold one. He had to oppose the gnostic, or rather the docetic heresy, and at the same time to confirm those Gospel-truths which were mixed up with mystic speculations, and which, like 'the honey' cannot bear being mixed up with 'gall,' as the writer in the

¹ 1 John ii. 19.

Muratorian document asserts. Whilst developing more fully the doctrine of Christ's Divine nature, and thus meeting his docetic opponents as far as he could consistently do so, Paul had to oppose such a view of Christ's personality, by which the reality of the Lord's human nature would be undermined, if not absolutely denied. The inventors and promoters of this kind of speculative Christianity¹ agreed with Paul, that Christ is the Spirit of God, but they denied the other part of the Apostle's fundamental doctrine, that Christ was Jesus, or in his own words, that Jesus Christ was the anointed man, 'made of the seed of David.' According to some of these false teachers, Christ was not only the Divine Spirit, Word or Wisdom, which God created in the beginning as the first-born of every creature; but Christ was conceived as an eternal uncreated personality by the side of the mysterious personality of the Creator. We have seen that, according to Paul's doctrine, the pre-existence of Christ was spiritual and ideal, but not personal; that before all creation Christ was by the Divine mind predestinated as the perfect manifestation of the Divine Spirit in the flesh, as the ideal man, who in the fulness of time was to come into the world. Thus defined, the divinity of Christ is the effect caused by the Divine Spirit; and His humanity was not a body exceptionally 'prepared,' not an apparent humanity 'in the veil of the flesh,' not an organism different from all others, but the flesh-and-blood-reality of a human individual, who, by not resisting the operation of the Divine Spirit, by the perfect obedience to the indwelling Saviour, was the Son of God, the Saviour of mankind.

Two extremes had to be carefully avoided. The creature must not be conceived as cut off from every communication with the Creator; and the creature must not in such a manner be raised, through the mediation of the Divine Spirit, to a state equal to that of the God-head, so as to set aside every difference between the

¹ See 'Simon Magus,' in 'The Preaching of Peter.'

CHAP.
V.

creature and his Maker. The former extreme view was entertained only by the Sadducees, whose opposition neither Paul nor the other Apostles had to fear. But the latter extreme, into which the docetic heretics had fallen, was diametrically opposed to the historical Christ and the apostolic doctrine.¹ Having established in his earlier epistles the all-outruling doctrine, that the Creator is the Father of all, and that even Christ glorified is subjected to him, Paul saw himself compelled by the docetic opposition to show how humanity can, by Divine agency, be raised to the Godhead without detriment to the latter, without robbing the Creator of any of his attributes. This is the theme of his Epistles to the Colossians, Ephesians, and Philippians. Although the Epistle to the Colossians seems to have been written before that to the Ephesians, we shall first consider the latter.

*The Epistle to the Ephesians.*²—It is ‘by the will of God’ that Paul is an apostle of Jesus Christ. He prays for grace and peace ‘from God, our Father, *and* (from) the Lord Jesus Christ;’ for the latter is identical with the Spirit of God, which proceeds from the Creator, who therefore is not only ‘our’ Father, but also ‘the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.’ It is the Creator who has ‘in Christ blessed us with all spiritual blessings in the heavens.’ The anointing work of the Holy Spirit has been fully accomplished in and through Jesus the Anointed, who, by the visible resurrection from the dead, was mightily ‘declared to be the Son of God with power.’ ‘The faithful in Christ Jesus’ are those who surrender themselves to the guidance of the Divine Spirit. For as God predestinated Christ in the beginning, in like manner has God chosen *us* in Christ ‘before the foundation of the world,’ so that, like our great example, ‘we should be

¹ See ‘Gnosticism and Doceticism’ in ‘Origin of the Roman Church.’

² The dedication ‘to the Saints which are at Ephesus, and to the Faithful in Christ Jesus’ is not contained in the two most ancient Gospel manuscripts, the Vatican and the Sinaitic Codex.

holy and without blame before him in love.' All faithful believers in the almighty power of God's Holy Spirit from above, in the spirit of grace, have been 'predestinated . . . unto the adoption of children *by* Jesus Christ *to himself*, according to the good pleasure of his will.' It is God, the Father, who has 'made us accepted in the beloved,' who has given us 'redemption *through his blood*.' As of old, it is the blood which 'maketh an atonement for sin;' but the blood of Christ is the seal of His perfect obedience unto death, the memorial of His humanity, of the human element which was absorbed by the Divine; it is the irresistible proof of the Holy Spirit's incarnation, the emphatic declaration that Jesus was made of the seed of David, and that yet the Lord is the Spirit. The blood of Christ was not only *moved* by the Spirit of God, but became at *one* with the same, and therefore is 'a pure influence flowing from the glory of the Almighty.' By His perfect obedience, Christ surrendered His earthen vessel, His fleshy tabernacle, the temple of His body, to the guidance of the indwelling Spirit of God. Therefore, though it is the righteousness of Christ which makes the perfect and all-sufficient atonement for sin, yet since His righteousness has not yielded to the temptations of flesh and blood, but is the joint result of His perfect obedience, and of the Divine Spirit's operation, therefore it is Christ's blood and righteousness which once and for ever makes the perfect atonement. Every imperfect atonement made in all ages by the imperfect obedience of man, by sinful blood, and therefore by a limited operation of the redeeming Holy Spirit, is but a type of the redemption through, or by means of the blood of Christ.

Thus we have received *from* God, from the source whence the Divine Spirit proceeds, and *through* Christ, that is through the purity of the earthen vessel inhabited by the Divine Spirit, 'the forgiveness of sins according to the riches of His grace.' Through this Divine grace which has 'abounded towards us,' God has 'made known unto

CHAP.
V.

us the mystery of His will, according to His good pleasure, which He hath purposed in Himself.' The mystery of God's will, now fully revealed in and through Christ, does not merely consist in the anointing of Jesus, 'the first-born among many brethren,' but in the bestowal of 'all spiritual blessings in the heavens' to 'all things,' which are to be 'in Christ,' that is in the Spirit, 'gathered together in one,' whether they be things 'which are in heaven' or such 'which are on earth.' In Christ, therefore, 'we *also* have obtained an inheritance,' or more literally 'have been chosen,' 'being predestinated according to the purpose of Him who worketh all things after the counsel of His own will.'

It is 'the God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of glory;' it is, as the Apostle has written in one of his earlier epistles, the God who is 'the head of Christ,' who enlightens us by 'the spirit of wisdom and revelation in the knowledge of Him;' 'that we may know what is the hope of His calling, and what the riches of the glory of His inheritance among His saints; and what the exceeding greatness of His power to usward, who believe according to the working of the might of His power, which He wrought in Christ when He raised him from the dead and set him at His own right hand in the heavens, far above all principality and power and might and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world but also in that which is to come, and hath put all things under His feet, and set Him over all things as the Head of the Church, which is His body, the fulness of Him that filleth all in all.'

The one thing needful is to 'believe;' and this faith is the result of an unresisted Divine operation. The redeeming Mediator is the 'power' of God, 'the great power from the beginning,' the Wisdom, Word or Spirit of God, which in the beginning was 'with God,' and which was in all ages poured on all flesh, for the purpose of raising sons of God among sons of men. This 'Spirit of

Wisdom' and of revelation in the Divine knowledge or gnosis, this Divine 'fulness of Him that filleth all in all,' dwelt in Christ's body, in the temple of His body, which was the sanctified fleshy tenement of the Divine Spirit, and which therefore typified 'the Church,' that is the dwelling-places of the Spirit of Holiness in the heavens and in the worlds under the same. And when that body lay in the grave, it was this Divine power through which God wrought in Christ the resurrection from the dead. Through the same medium God had in all ages raised the righteous to immortality, having 'found them worthy for Himself.' Having received them as a 'complete offering,' they were 'translated;' having made them 'perfect in a short time' through 'the Sun of Righteousness,' they 'live for evermore;' they are 'numbered among the children of God;' their 'lot is among the saints;' they 'judge the nations and have dominion over the people;' they 'receive a glorious kingdom and the crown of beauty from the Lord's hand.'

All this God has done in all ages for the righteous, according to the pre-Christian Hidden Wisdom. But for Jesus, as the first-born and the image of God, He has done infinitely more, by setting Him at His own right hand, above everything in the present and in the future world, and by thus, for a time at least, subjecting all things under Him. Only when, through the instrumentality of this selfsame Spirit, God shall be all in all, that is when 'the fulness' of God shall have filled all, then the exalted Christ shall be again subjected to Him who has placed all things under Him. The first fruits of the resurrection, 'the first-born of the dead,' is not the first son of man who was translated to immortality; but Christ ranks the first among all those saints who by God's grace and through righteousness were raised to eternal life, dominion, and glory. And even us, 'who were dead in trespasses and sins,' God 'hath quickened together with Christ, and with Him hath raised us and set us together in the heavens in

CHAP.
V.

Christ Jesus.' Between 'the saints' who, notwithstanding their imperfect righteousness, were raised to glory, and those who have been quickened together with Christ, and raised with Him, although they were dead in trespasses and sins, there is only a difference in degree as to their disobedience and consequent imperfect righteousness. The 'gift of God' granted to the believer in the Divine power is an earnest and forestalling of the heavenly inheritance. Men who are 'led by the Spirit of God' are no more 'strangers from the covenant of promise, having no hope and without God in the world.' In all ages men have been led by the grace of God to an obedience which, although imperfect, is of the same nature than the perfect obedience of Him whom, like us, God has quickened and raised, but whom, unlike all who preceded or will follow him, God has set at His right hand above all creatures. We 'who sometimes were far off,' that is who, by our habitually resisting the Divine Spirit, were cut off from all communion with God, 'are made nigh by the blood of Christ,' that is through His death, which was the culminating point of His life of obedience, whereby He has left us an example that we should follow in His steps. And whereas the saving operation of the Divine Spirit is not limited to any one nation, Christ, as the full manifestation of this Divine operation, has become a universal example. The 'middle wall of partition' between those who belonged and those who did not belong to 'the commonwealth of Israel,' has by Christ been 'broken down.' It is no more 'the law of commandments contained in ordinances,' but the law of God written in the heart, which constitutes the standard or rule of faith.

The enmity between the Israelite and the Gentile is, however, not all which Christ has 'abolished in his flesh.' By his perfect obedience Christ has slain that enmity which, ever since man's disobedience, existed between 'the seed of the serpent and the seed of the woman.' The bruiser of the serpent's head has thus re-

moved and nailed to His cross the enmity which existed between the creature and the Creator. He has re-established the intimate communion between man and his Maker; He has reconciled 'in one body by the cross' the human and the divine element in mankind. 'The Lord is the Spirit,' therefore, through Him both Jew and Gentile 'have access by one spirit unto the Father;' there are no more so-called 'strangers and foreigners,' but all are fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God. They are built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone, in whom all the building, fitly framed together, groweth unto an holy temple in the Lord; 'in whom ye also are builded together for an habitation of God through the Spirit.' This is the gospel of peace which Christ preached to them which were afar off, and to them that were nigh.

The universality of God's saving love was, as we have seen, one of the leading principles of the pre-Christian apocryphal or Hidden Wisdom. The Spirit, Wisdom or Word of God, which in all ages was poured on all flesh, was conceived as the universal Saviour, as the Divine instrumentality through which the will of God, sanctification and immortality, is revealed to fallen man. Faith in this Divine in-dwelling power is sufficient to enable man to have access to God, to be in communion with Him. This more or less Hidden Wisdom had been 'revealed' to Paul as 'the mystery of Christ;' and it was the Apostle of the Gentiles through whose instrumentality the knowledge of this mystery was 'by the Spirit' revealed unto holy apostles and prophets. 'In other ages' this 'mystery of godliness' was not made known unto the sons of men 'as it was then revealed,' that is to say, in its application to Jesus Christ, the predestinated perfect instrument of the redeeming Spirit. Christ's life and death of perfect obedience was a universal sign of salvation. It declared to the Gentiles as well as to the Jews, that as

CHAP.
V.

partakers of the Divine dispensation, as earthen vessels possessing in a measure the saving Spirit of God, as flesh and blood on which the Divine power has been poured in all ages, the Gentiles as well as the Jews are 'fellow-heirs and of the same body,' and partakers of God's promise in Christ by the Gospel. This now perfectly revealed 'fellowship of the mystery, . . . from the beginning of the world hath been hid in God, who created all things by Jesus Christ.' Identified as the latter is by the Apostle with the Divine Spirit, the medium of all creation, and with the high mark of humanity's calling, the pattern of mankind, the universal Church of the Holy Ghost has become the Church of Christ, 'of whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named.' By this universal Church 'the manifold Wisdom of God' is to be made known, 'according to the eternal purpose which he purposed in Christ Jesus our Lord, in whom we have boldness and access with confidence by the faith of (in) him.' It is by 'the Spirit' of 'the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ,' that we are 'strengthened with might in the inner man.' This Divine guest, 'the fulness of God' with which we are in a measure 'filled,' this 'power that worketh in us,' is the great power from the beginning, the Spirit, Wisdom or Word of God, of which Jesus Christ is the perfect incarnation. Henceforth we say, therefore, that it is the Spirit of Christ which testifies to our spirit that we are the children of God. By faith in the regenerating power of the Divine Spirit, Christ dwells in our hearts, the Father and the Son take their abode in us, and the Father's love, the Son's grace, the fellowship of the Holy Ghost is with us all.

To maintain this spiritual unity, peace is necessary to the Church. Instead of undermining the same by divisions and schisms of heresy, instead of prematurely watering what the Apostle has planted, let all 'comprehend with all saints' which are the dimensions, the limitations of that fabric which the wise Master-builder

has raised on the sole foundation which is Jesus Christ, the Lord, the Spirit. Let all endeavour 'to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.' As there is but one Spirit and one hope, so there ought to be but one Church or body of Christ, 'one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in all.' This one Spirit, the gift of God, would be granted by the Creator to all creatures without measure, if the latter did all entirely surrender their wills to the will of God. 'The measure of the gift of Christ' is regulated by the obedience of the recipient. This Divine gift is called the gift of Christ, because owing to His perfect obedience Christ received the same without measure, and became at One with it. Being no more children, but fed as we are by 'strong meat,' we must not be 'tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine by the sleight of men, and cunning craftiness, whereby they lie in wait to deceive.' For even the saints require to be perfected, and the body of Christ, the Church, the totality of its members has not yet come to, 'the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ.' Or, in other words, God is not yet all in all in mankind, as He is all in all in Jesus Christ. Jesus is therefore our great example, the head of mankind, and we are to 'grow up into Him in all things.' We are to be 'renewed' in the spirit of our mind, and 'put on the new man which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness,' or rather, 'in the holiness of the truth.' We are not to 'grieve the Holy Spirit of God,' whereby we are 'sealed unto the day of redemption.'

In all ages the selfsame Holy Spirit has dwelt in the flesh, and by leading men to the true righteousness, has enabled them to be followers of God, children, sons and friends of the Most High. Thus they 'walked after the counsel of God,'¹ being 'faithful in love' they abided in

¹ Wis. vi. 4.

CHAP.
V.

him ;¹ loving their neighbours they became their sureties, and even gave their lives for them.² How much more ought we to be 'followers of God, as dear children, and walk in love, as Christ also hath loved us, and hath given Himself for us, an offering and a sacrifice to God for a sweet-smelling savour.' If even the imperfect forsaking of iniquity was at all times accepted by God as a propitiation, if God accepted the will for the deed, how much more acceptable and efficacious must be the propitiatory sacrifice of one who knew no sin, how absolutely all-sufficient must be an obedience unto death ! And if before the manifestation of the Divine Spirit's perfect incarnation in Jesus Christ, the souls of the righteous were by God accepted as a 'complete offering ;' shall He not attach a much higher value to the sweet-smelling savour of His well-beloved Son's offering in and through His life and death ?

We have seen that Paul's doctrine of atonement by blood, as a sign of vengeance, and as a curse, is opposed to the apocryphal doctrine of atonement by righteousness only ; and that whereas the Jews insisted on atoning blood, whilst the docetics denied Christ's blood altogether, Paul saw the necessity of adding the seal of Christ's humanity, His blood, to the righteousness which in itself reconciled man with God. Not only the Divine nature, but also the human nature of Christ has procured this perfect reconciliation, has made this perfect atonement. The latter is therefore as much the merit of Christ's obedience as the free gift of God. In consequence of the atonement made by the offering up of Christ's human will, a richer measure of the redeeming spirit from above is given to those who believe in the efficacy of this Divine power. What now saves us is no longer the dim faith in the regenerating power of the Spirit of God, who in all ages has perfected sons of men into sons of God ; it is the faith in the veracity and efficacy of an historical fact, in

¹ Wis. iii. 9.

² Eccl. xxix. 14, 15.

the triumphant exaltation to the right hand of God of the Son of Man, who overcame the world, the flesh and the devil. What the sinner must now do to be saved is nothing new. As of old, the belief is sufficient in the saving power of the Divine Spirit, which by God's grace is poured on all flesh, but which if habitually resisted may be quenched, and then leaves man 'without God in the world.' In this sense only can the sinner rely upon Christ's sacrifice for obtaining the favour of God. Now, as nearly 2,000 years ago, and as in all ages, God is a merciful God, He is the God of love, who chastises for the purpose of bringing back like a shepherd his flock, which He feeds with the bread of heaven, refreshes with water from the spiritual rock, with the power which, if not continually opposed, works in man 'both to will and to do of His good pleasure.'

The Epistle to the Colossians.—Paul's Epistle 'to the saints and faithful brethren in Christ which are at Colossæ,' sets forth even more pointedly than the so-called Epistle to the Ephesians, the nature of that schism of heresy which had crept into the Church. The Apostle indirectly alludes in the first place to the dangers of that Judaising Christianity which insists on the works of the law. He prays that the Colossians may be 'fruitful in *every* good work,' whilst 'increasing in the knowledge of God,' and of 'His will in all wisdom and *spiritual* understanding.'¹ From this we infer that the letter and not the spirit of Scripture determined their thoughts and works. They had not learnt that 'the letter killeth,' and that 'the Spirit giveth life;'² they were those who 'by the letter' transgressed the law,³ who considered efficacious 'the circumcision of the letter,' and not that 'of the heart,'⁴ who served 'in the oldness of the letter,' and not 'in newness of spirit.'⁵ The Apostle who called himself a minister, 'not of the letter but of the spirit,'⁶ and who rejoices in

¹ i. 9, 10.⁴ ii. 29.² 2 Cor. iii. 6.⁵ vii. 6.³ Rom. ii. 27.⁶ 2 Cor. iii. 6.

CHAP.
V.

the Colossians' 'love in the Spirit,'¹ reminds them that they lack in knowledge and wisdom, that is, in that 'Hidden Wisdom,' which was first fully revealed by himself. He warns them against those Judaising teachers of the gospel who make the letter of Scripture and the outward keeping of the same the test of a man's religion. 'Let no man therefore judge you in meat or in drink, or in respect of an holyday, or of the new moon, or of the Sabbath days, which are a shadow of things to come; but the body is of Christ.'² It is not improbable that in this as in similar passages,³ Paul includes the twelve Apostles in the number of those Judaising teachers who, judging from their keeping back some of the revealed truths, were opposed to the spirit of his gospel. We have seen that Christ Himself did not consider the time come to destroy the law, although he expressed his longing that the fire which he had come to bring to the earth were already kindled. The greater part of His hidden mysteries He revealed only to His disciples; and the latter, though willing, considered themselves not in a position to venture on divulging the secrets confided to them. No wonder then if Paul for a time separated himself from the twelve Apostles, and if temporary coolness, if not antagonism, prevailed.⁴

In the second place, Paul warns the Colossians against other and more dangerous, because false teachers, who seem to have made effectual attempts to pervert and make a 'spoil' of the members of this Church, 'through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ.'⁵ The cause of this anti-Christian doctrine, of this heresy, is clearly stated to have been a kind of wisdom, a philosophy not recognised or confirmed by Christ. It consisted in what he calls, in another epistle, the principles of 'the science falsely so called,' which were opposed to

¹ i. 8.

² ii. 16, 17.

³ 2 Cor. xi. 4.

⁴ See 'The Gospel after Luke.'

⁵ ii. 8.

‘the wholesome words of our Lord Jesus Christ,’ to ‘the good deposit’ of the Lord’s own doctrine.¹ We have seen that Paul reproves the Colossians for their want of knowledge and wisdom, and he declares himself to be a preacher and apostle of ‘all wisdom.’² The heretical teachers must, therefore, have outstepped the limits which Paul had carefully drawn, for the purpose of keeping out certain doctrines which were contrary to the gospel revealed to him, that is, to ‘the grace of God in truth,’ or ‘after Christ.’³

The Apostle raises his voice in all his later epistles, but especially in that addressed to the Colossians, against the teachers of a false doctrine. Having in his earlier epistles identified Christ with the Spirit of God, he warns his readers against the fatal conclusion, that Christ has been only an *apparent* incarnation of the Holy Ghost. There would have been no need for such warning, if the Apostle’s emphatic declaration, made in the first years of his ministry, had not been attacked, that although Christ the Lord, is the Spirit, or the spiritual rock which accompanied the Israelites, yet that, ‘according to the flesh, he was made of the seed of David.’ The Apostle here seems to imply, that it is not ‘in the veil of the flesh,’ but in the flesh-and-blood-body of Christ, that dwelt ‘all the fulness of the Godhead,’ that it dwelt in him ‘bodily.’⁴ It is ‘*in the body of His flesh*’ that God has reconciled us, it is ‘through His blood’ that we have redemption; and as ‘it pleased the Father that in Him,’ that is, in the predestinated body of His flesh, ‘should all fulness dwell,’ so also the Father’s ‘glorious power’ dwells in all its fulness in the spiritual body of the risen Christ, of which the Church is the type.⁵

By applying to the person of Christ the apocryphal doctrine of obedience to the Divine Spirit, or the grace of God, and by transferring to Christ the apocryphal

¹ 1 Tim. vi. 3, 20.⁴ ii. 9.² i. 28.⁵ i. 19, 22, 24.³ i. 6; ii. 8.

CHAP.
V.

designation of the Divine Spirit, Word or Wisdom, as the first-born among all creatures, Paul has plainly revealed 'the mystery of godliness,' or 'the mystery of Christ,' as identical with 'the mystery of God's will,' made known to man by the grace of His indwelling Spirit. It is the Hidden 'Wisdom of God' which he preaches 'in a mystery,'¹ the apocryphal doctrine that the Divine Wisdom, Word or Spirit, which in the beginning was 'with' God, 'is privy to the mysteries of the knowledge of God.'² Since Christ is the Spirit, it is no longer the Divine power as such, but it is the Divine essence in an earthen vessel, it is Jesus Christ, in whom 'all the fulness of the Godhead dwelt bodily,' who is 'the image of the invisible God, the first-born of every creature,' by whom 'are all things created in heaven and on earth, things visible and invisible;' it is no longer the incorporate Divine Spirit, which in all ages was poured on all flesh, but it is the Holy Ghost incarnate, who 'is before all things,' and by whom 'all things consist.' It is no longer the anointing Spirit, but the anointed body of Jesus; it is the Christ whose natural body has been raised a spiritual body, who is 'the head of the body, the Church,' who is 'the beginning, the first-born from the dead, so that among all he might be the first.' It is no longer through God's Spirit, but through His Christ, that 'the wages of righteousness' are paid, that sons of men are 'numbered among the children of God.' It is no longer the Divine Spirit, but He whose Spirit is one with the same; it is Christ, who is henceforth 'the sun of righteousness,' through whose mediation the Lord 'reproveth, and nurtureth, and teacheth, and bringeth again as a shepherd his flock.' It is 'the great power from the beginning' which 'preserved the first-formed father of the world ("the first Adam"), and brought him out of his fall,' which enabled man 'to forsake iniquity,' and thereby to make 'a propitiation;' it is the Divine Spirit,

¹ 1 Cor. ii. 7.

² Wis. viii. 4.

'the brightness of the everlasting light, the unspotted mirror of the power of God, and the image of His goodness;' it is the Divine indwelling 'pure influence flowing from the glory of the Almighty,' which has in all ages enabled some of the sons of men, through righteousness, to atone for their own sins, and for those of others, and to offer up their souls as a sufficient offering; it is the Spirit of God which, before its perfect incarnation in Jesus Christ, was 'pressed down by the corruptible body,' although through the same, in the beginning, God had breathed into the first Adam a living soul, and created man as an 'image of his own eternity;' it is the Divine Word made flesh; it is 'Christ, the Wisdom of God,' the Son of Man, and the Son of God, to whom now all these attributes and offices belong.

As of old in and through the Angel of the Lord, so now in and through Jesus Christ, 'the name' of God is manifested. The holy Spirit of God's perfect manifestation by angels is now followed up by its perfect manifestation in the flesh, by the Man Jesus. And because of this perfect incarnation of the spirit of holiness, the Spirit of Christ is the Spirit of God. All who believe in the sanctifying power of the Divine Spirit, as fully manifested in and through Christ, are 'partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light,'¹ 'joint heirs with Christ,' who is 'above all, and through all and in all.' Thus identified with the Holy Spirit, Word or Wisdom, which was in the beginning with God, Christ the Lord is the indwelling mediator as well as the exalted mediator at the right hand of God. It is 'through Jesus Christ' that glory is given to Him who is his head, his Father, and his God, to 'God Only wise.'² In order to become 'partakers of God's promise in Christ by the gospel;' ³ in order that 'the glory' of God, that is Christ, should be revealed in us,⁴ we must become 'partakers of Christ's holiness;' ⁵ we must receive 'the gift of grace,' that is the Holy Spirit from

¹ Col. i. 12. ² Rom. xvi. 27. ³ Eph. iii. 6. ⁴ Col. i. 27. ⁵ Heb. xii. 10.

CHAP.
V.

above, which in all ages was poured on all flesh according to the 'gift' or 'grace' of God; that 'free gift' which 'by One Man Jesus Christ hath *abounded* unto many.'¹ 'Of His *fulness* have all we received even grace by grace';² that which Christ in the flesh possessed without measure, has in a larger measure than before been bestowed upon believing mankind. For by Christ's example those who believe in Him, increasingly desire to be 'plenteously filled' even with 'all the fulness of God.'³ And as of old, so now, God bestows His grace 'according to the desire of them that have need.'

Therefore the Apostle prays that 'the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ' be with us all.⁴ The grace of Christ is the fulness of God abounding towards us; it is that Spirit, Word or Wisdom of God which constituted the Divine nature of our sublime pattern, of the 'One Man Jesus Christ,' whose example we are to imitate by following in His footsteps, by overcoming the world as He overcame it. This is the eternal purpose of God's love. In the beginning man was created in the image of God; he was the fleshy receptacle of all the fulness of God, of that Divine essence which is 'the brightness of the everlasting light, the unspotted mirror of the power of God, and the image of His goodness.' Though 'the first Adam' fell, because of his disobedience to that heavenly monitor who had taken his abode in him, yet sinful man was by God's free grace not cut off from the communion of the Holy Ghost. And in the fulness of times 'the second Adam,' by his perfect obedience, was filled with 'all the fulness of God,' was 'the image of the invisible God,' the One Man, predestinated from the beginning, in whom the love and grace of God was to be fully manifested. Therefore 'the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost'⁵ are in a certain sense synonymous terms. It is the love of God

¹ Rom. v. 15.

² John i. 16.

³ Eph. iii. 19.

⁴ Rom. xvi. 24.

⁵ 2 Cor. xiii. 14.

which in the beginning established, as an act of free grace, the communion between the creature and the Creator through the Holy Ghost; and which before all creation fixed the mark of humanity's high calling, the ideal pattern of mankind, in whom the fulness of the Godhead should bodily dwell, as the perfect manifestation of Divine grace in the flesh.

CHAP.
V.

The Epistle to the Philippians gives a vivid though lamentable description of the strifes and divisions in the Christian church. Whilst the Colossians were principally warned against the dangers of an anti-Christian philosophy, Paul warns the Philippians against the teachers of a Judaising Christianity. 'Some, indeed, preach Christ even of envy and strife; and some also of good-will; the one preach Christ of contention (or "with a party-spirit"), not sincerely (or "not with a pure motive"), supposing to add afflictions to my bonds; but the other of love, knowing that I am set for the defence of the gospel. What then? (or, what does it matter?) Notwithstanding, every way, whether in pretence (more literally, "in hypocrisy") or in truth, Christ is preached; and I therein do rejoice, yea, and will rejoice.'¹ Party spirit, impure motives and hypocrisy, are by the Apostle attributed to some teachers of Christianity who were opposed to Paul. A similar charge was made by him against Peter and 'the other Jews,' against those 'which were of the circumcision,' and to whose blaming representations Peter yielded, compelling the Gentiles (for a time at least) 'to live as do the Jews.'² This yielding of Peter, because of his 'fearing them which were of the circumcision,' Paul calls a dissembling, an hypocritical action. Having previously admonished the Galatians, that if they be circumcised Christ shall profit them nothing,³ he warns the Philippians to beware of dogs, of false workers and of the concision; and he assures them that the true circumcision, that of the heart, is with them who 'worship God in the Spirit,'⁴ and not according to the letter which killeth.

Philippians.

¹ Phil. i. 15-18.

² Gal. ii. 14.

³ v. 2.

⁴ iii. 3.

CHAP
V.

The circumcision of the flesh involved a great principle in those days. The Christians who submitted to this practice believed, that Christ had made the continued observance of the same obligatory by his recorded declaration, that not one tittle of the law should fall, and that what the Pharisees commanded should be done. They believed, that notwithstanding the weightier, the spiritual matters of the law, the outward works prescribed by the law were at all times necessary for the attainment of true righteousness. On the authority of James, the brother of our Lord, they believed in justification 'by works . . . and not by faith only.'¹ Paul had opposed to this doctrine that of justification by faith 'without' the deeds of the law.² For this and other reasons, as we have seen, Paul calls his Gospel 'another Gospel,' and he complains that the Corinthians 'bear it admirably,' if others than himself or his disciples preach 'another Jesus' and 'another Gospel' than that which they had received through him. A comparison of the Gospel after Matthew with that after Luke will confirm the fact, that a party-spirit prevailed; for a time at least, between Paul and those who had been apostles before him. We may then here assume that those Judaizing teachers of whom Paul writes, that they preached Christ with a party-spirit and in hypocrisy, and who were opposed to Paul, were more or less connected with the Apostles at Jerusalem.

Be this as it may, Paul was not one of those who trusted in anything else than in 'the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus' his Lord, whom he desires to 'win,' in whom he hopes to be 'found,' whom he strives to 'know,' together with 'the power of his resurrection, and the fellowship of his sufferings, being made conformable unto his death.'³ To him 'to live is Christ, and to die is gain.'⁴ To live in the Spirit, to be led by the Spirit, is to be in Christ, is to be possessed of the mind 'which was also in Christ Jesus,' who, being

¹ ii. 24.² Rom. iii. 20, 28.³ iii.⁴ i. 21.

in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God.’¹ We have already referred to this important passage. It is the Spirit of God, the eternal Word, it is Christ ‘the Spiritual rock,’ who came down from heaven and became incarnate in the predestinated ‘One Man Jesus Christ,’ the God-Man, ‘whose natural body was absorbed by his spiritual body, and who was thus conformed to the Divine image, to ‘the form of God.’ Having identified the Man Jesus Christ with the Divine Spirit, Paul states that Christ, ‘the image of God,’ ‘being in the form of God,’ who is ‘a Spirit,’ did make himself of ‘no reputation;’ that He, that is His Spirit, or the Spirit of God, voluntarily dispossessed Himself of His prerogatives as the first-born among all creatures; that the Divine Spirit or Word from the beginning which was in Christ without measure, ceased thereby to be in its fulness exclusively with the Father, and in its fulness likewise abided with the Son, thus being at one with both, with the Creator and the creature. Thus Jesus was made the Christ, the Son was made equal with God, without robbing the Creator of any of his attributes, without setting aside every difference between the Creator and creature, in and through whom humanity was raised to the Godhead, in accordance with the eternally predestinated plan.

In all ages the Divine Spirit had in a similar manner become incarnate; but it was sinful flesh which was raised to an imperfect, to an elementary Divine sonship. The Spirit of God had testified to the spirit of man, that he is destined to be the child of God, the friend of God; although because of man’s disobedience the spirit of the creature had not become at one with the Spirit of the Creator. But by Christ’s obedience this oneness of the infinite and the finite, this ‘prize of the high calling of God’ was attained. The Spirit of God being at one with the Spirit of Christ, it is God *in* man, the

¹ Phil. ii. 5 f.

CHAP.
V.

Spirit *in* the flesh, Christ *in* Jesus, it is in *this* sense Christ Jesus, who 'took upon Him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men; and being found in fashion as a man, 'humbled Himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross.' Were it not so, were it not 'Christ, the Wisdom of God,' which in the beginning was 'with' God, which in all ages was by God sent to be with man, and which in the fulness of time came down from heaven to be with Jesus; then the Apostle would not have said, that according to the flesh Jesus Christ was made of the seed of David. He would not have positively declared, that because of his perfect obedience God has 'exalted' him, not to a position which Jesus Christ had before, but to the eternally conceived Divine ideal of humanity, to the position due to the Man Jesus Christ, who was the perfect realisation of the Divine idea, who was both God in Man and Man in God.

The Epistle to Philemon.—This Epistle, like those we have just considered, dates from Paul's Roman captivity. The able arguments in favour of the plausible hypothesis that this part of Scripture, being devoid of every historical foundation, may be regarded as the allegorical representation of 'a truly Christian idea,' are by no means convincing. If Paul was imprisoned at Rome, the incident here related may well have occurred. It may be briefly recorded as follows: ¹ A slave goes to Rome, who has run away from his master, a Christian in Phrygia, and an intimate friend of the Apostle Paul. Here he comes in contact with the imprisoned Apostle, he is converted by the same to Christianity, and hereupon sent back to his master at Colossæ as a Christian slave. The letter given by the Apostle to the converted slave for his master refers to this case: The converted slave is represented as a child begotten by the Apostle in old age, during his captivity, as one whom consequently he loves

¹ See Baur's 'Paulus,' from which the following epitome is taken.

with great tenderness. As a converted slave he has been changed from an 'achrastos,' a man who was of *no use* to his master, and who was even nothing but a loss to him, into an 'euchrastos,' a *useful* vessel for his master and for his Apostle. A hidden reference seems herein to be contained, not only to the name of the slave, Onesimus (from 'onämi,' to be useful), but also to the Christian name itself, since the Gentiles often pronounced 'chrisos' as 'chräsos,' to which latter appellation the Christians did not object.

CHAP.
V.

Deeply convinced of the Christian truths, the Apostle develops in this Epistle the beautiful idea, which would easily present itself to every disciple of Christ, that between those who are joined together by Christianity, a true and essential communion has been established, so that the one recognises in the other his own self; that he is assured of his entire unity with him, and that he belongs to a union lasting into all eternity. The converted slave is no more the slave of his master, he is the beloved brother whose debts have been remitted. The Apostle is the spiritual father of the newborn child of God; and the master of the slave receives in the converted slave the converter. Thus Christianity annuls all disuniting differences.

The Epistles to the Thessalonians are clearly written at an earlier period than those to the Colossians, Ephesians and Philippians; and accordingly we find, that in the very ancient list of the Scriptures forming the New Testament, in that of Marcion, these Epistles are placed before either of them. It is therefore quite natural that they contain no allusion to the schism of heresy, the threatening spread of which was for a time prevented by Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians, as we know by the Epistle of the Roman Clement, Paul's contemporary. During the lull thus caused, or earlier, these Epistles may have been written. Judging from their contents, the period in which they were composed, although of short duration, must have been fraught with elements of an influential and reforming character. In

Thessalo-
nians.

CHAP
V.

the first, as well as in the second Epistle, the statements made by the Apostle on the second coming of the Lord are in general harmony with what he wrote on the same subject to the Corinthians.¹ But there is this difference, that when the former Epistles were written, Paul's expectation that he would live to see the return of the Lord, although probably shared by the other Apostles, had for some reason or other become with many a matter of doubt. Paul therefore found it necessary to exhort the Thessalonians, not to doubt the foundation of this expectation, nor to try to account for its not having been yet realised.²

Jude.

The Epistle of Jude seems likewise to refer, if not to similar doubts about the second coming of Christ, at least to one of the recognised authorities for this doctrine. Referring to a book of Enoch, identifying the writer of the same with 'Enoch the seventh from Adam,' and admitting that this book contains prophecies, though of the existence of it more than two centuries before, we have no trace, Jude the Apostle quotes from this apocryphal work the passage about the Lord's coming 'with ten thousand of his saints.'³ Although we are not hereby authorised to conjecture that the Epistle of Jude may have been written during the period when the Epistles to the Thessalonians were composed, yet the above quoted passage refers to the same subject, and is of a nature to remove the doubts which may possibly have then existed with regard to the Lord's second coming. The same may be said of the second Epistle of Peter, although in its present form it has certainly been partly written at a later time.⁴ Be this as it may, we can distinguish in the writings of Paul three distinct features if not phases with reference to this doctrine. When the Apostle wrote to the Corinthians he referred to this subject as if it were not the cause of any doubt or impatience; when he wrote to the Thessalonians Paul addressed a church where doubts were entertained on the Lord's return; and when he wrote his last Epistles he never alluded to this subject at all.

¹ 1 Cor. xv. 23-28, 51, 52.³ xiv.² 1 Thess ii.⁴ 2 Peter iii. 5 f.

Epistles to Timothy.—These Epistles are invaluable proofs of the development of the schism of heresy in the Christian church. It is generally asserted that the gnostic heresy did not commence before the beginning of the second century, and this has been assigned as a reason why Paul could not have written these Epistles, which in conjunction to that to Titus, are termed his pastoral letters. Although we hope to have rendered it more than probable that this heresy began during the lifetime of the Apostle, yet we must admit, that if not the views contained in this class of Paulinic epistles, the forms of expression are different from those which we find in the other epistles of Paul. It is difficult to account for this, seeing that a long period, probably from eighteen to twenty-two years, had elapsed between the Apostle's conversion and his composition of the Epistle to the Philippians. During this time the style of his writing must have received its specific stamp, and it is hard to conceive that the same may have been essentially altered during the brief period of his imprisonment in Rome. Yet as these epistles contain nothing which Paul could not have written, and moreover as they clearly point to the docetic heresy, we cannot doubt their apostolicity, although the earliest notices of their existence date from the end of the second century. We hope to have somewhat strengthened the arguments in favour of the apostolic authorship of these epistles, by pointing out the relations between Paul's own gospel and the preaching of Jesus Christ on the one side, and the gospel originally proclaimed by the twelve Apostles on the other. Paul may have written, and probably did write, some of his epistles previous to the time when he received from the apostolic body at Jerusalem the hand of fellowship. Seeing himself supported by his apostolic colleagues, he might thenceforth naturally adopt a more harmonious mode of teaching, and consequently a different style.

The Epistles to Timothy throw much light on the

CHAP.
V.

uncertainties to which the doctrine of Paul, and still more that of Apollos, seem to have given rise, and to which the Gospel after Luke directly refers. Timothy has been asked to abide at Ephesus, and there to 'charge some that they teach no other doctrine' than the 'sound doctrine.'¹ In order to be enabled to do so, and to bring men 'unto the knowledge of the truth,'² he must rightly *divide* 'the word of truth,'³ and above all 'keep *the good deposit*, avoiding profane and vain babblings, and oppositions of *science falsely so called*, which some professing have erred concerning the faith.'⁴ The Apostle has in this same chapter laid down the criterion of true Christianity. 'If any man . . . consent not to *the wholesome words of our Lord Jesus Christ*, and to the doctrine which leadeth to Godliness,'⁵ then he 'teacheth falsely,' and according to 'the science falsely so called,' which is an opposition to 'the good deposit' that Timothy has received.

It is a very remarkable fact that Hegesippus, the earliest known writer of a history of the Christian church, has used the very same words for the definition of the first heresy in the Christian church. In the abstract which has been transmitted to us by Eusebius,⁶ Hegesippus states, that up to the time of Trajan,⁷ 'the church continued as a pure and uncorrupt virgin, whilst if there were any at all that attempted to pervert the sound doctrine of the preaching of the gospel, they were yet skulking in the dark retreats. But when the sacred choir of the Apostles became extinct in different ways, and the generation of those that had been privileged to hear the inspired wisdom had passed away, then also *the conspiracy of the impious error* began, through *the fraud and delusion* of those that taught differently (or "of false teachers"). These also, as there were none of the Apostles left, henceforth attempted without shame, to *oppose the teaching of*

¹ 1 Tim. i. 3, 10.² ii. 4.³ 2 Tim. ii. 15.⁴ 1 Tim. vi. 20, 21.⁵ vi. 3.⁶ H. E. iii. 32.⁷ 98-117.

the truth, by the preaching of the science falsely so called.'

CHAP.
V.

Eusebius in another place continues thus:¹ 'The same author (Hegesippus) also treats of the beginnings of the heresies that arose about his time in the following words: But after James the Just had suffered martyrdom, as our Lord had for the same reason, Simeon the son of Cleophas, our Lord's uncle, was appointed the second bishop, whom all proposed, as the cousin of our Lord. Hence they called the church as yet a virgin, for it was not yet corrupted by foolish (or vain) discourses.' And Hegesippus further reports, that at the time of the martyrdom of the aged Simeon, the sects that had till then secretly existed in the church had tried to place a certain Thebutis at the head of the church as bishop, and to '*undermine the established sound canons.*' He then proceeds to define which were the fundamental principles of the established sound canons, that is, what was the criterion or rule of faith. He declares that 'in every generation and in every city matters stand so, as it is commanded by the law, the prophets, and the Lord.'²

The written law, the writings of the prophets, and the good deposit, the transmitted words of our Lord, of 'the Man Christ Jesus,'³ formed therefore the standard of true Christianity in the first century. This is confirmed by the remarkable quotation in the 'Epistle of Barnabas,' from which it follows, that before the end of that period, words of Christ, as recorded in the Gospel after Matthew, were quoted as scriptural authority. It is true that we cannot trace back to the end of the first century either the acknowledgment or even the existence of the Gospel after John, and of the record therein contained of the Lord's sayings which are not contained in earlier gospels. But if we succeed in proving that these words were actually spoken by Christ, not in public, but in secret; that they are the authentic exposition of Christ's secret doctrine;

¹ H. E. iv. 22.

² H. E. iv. 22.

³ 1 Tim. ii. 5.

CHAP.
V.

that they were recorded in this form in harmony with the secret tradition confided only to some if not all of his Apostles; then the otherwise inexplicable fact will have been explained, why a posthumous though apostolical gospel, containing apocryphal records, was not at once universally received as authoritative Scripture.

Before the middle of the second century docetic gnosticism or 'the science falsely so called,' the first propagators of which had been easily put down by apostolic authority, lifted its head, and threatened by a widespread organisation to undermine 'the sound doctrine of the preaching of the gospel.' The historian expressly informs us, that after the death of the last of the Apostles, that is of John, a conspiracy of impious error was set on foot, which opposed a false philosophy to the truth set forth by the Apostles. From this we may conjecture that the Gospel after John was immediately after its publication received by all orthodox or anti-docetic parties in the church as a necessary supplement to the original record of the Lord's sayings. For here it was clearly stated by the beloved disciple, in how far pre-Christian doctrines of a more speculative nature had been sanctioned, developed, and applied by the Lord. That which he had confided in secret and in darkness to the chosen few among His Apostles, had now been openly proclaimed in a form generally analogous to the original gospel records, and in perfect harmony with the gospel first publicly revealed by Paul. The new gospel, whilst confirming the gnosticism taught by Christ in secret, and by Paul in public, contained the apostolical protest against the docetic conclusions of false teachers; it was the supplementary charter of original Christianity.

'The good deposit,' to which Paul refers, consisted therefore not only of 'the wholesome words of our Lord Jesus Christ,' as recorded by Matthew, but also of those principles of apocryphal or Hidden Wisdom which Christ had revealed only in secret to a few. Paul had been the

first openly to proclaim the same, and they were, probably during his lifetime, embodied in Luke's Gospel, where the public sayings of the Lord, as recorded by Matthew, were somewhat modified and developed after the principles of this secret tradition. And although the fourth Gospel and the Epistles of John were probably not all written till after Paul's death, yet the secret or apocryphal principles of Christ therein proclaimed must necessarily have formed the most important part of the good deposit of sound doctrine in the opinion of the Apostle. We have seen, that already during his lifetime the great Apostle had to contend with false teachers, who had undermined that foundation of true Christianity, other than which no man can lay, that is, the fundamental doctrine on the humanity and divinity of Jesus. We have already pointed out that Apollos, whose party in the Corinthian church separated itself from that of Paul, may have been by some associated with these false teachers, a charge which could not possibly be raised against him, even if it were possible to prove beyond all doubt that Apollos wrote the Epistle to the Hebrews. At all events, the Apostle warns Timothy that 'the words of faith and good doctrine'¹ have been opposed by 'the science falsely so called,' by 'profane fables,'² promulgated by such who, if they had first joined the Apostles, had not continued with them. Because of this counterfeit money which was in circulation, because of the 'tares' which had grown up with the corn, and in the absence of such a supplementary gospel, the Apostle is not able to refer Timothy to any complete and perfect record of the Lord's doctrine. The full meaning of the words of the Lord Jesus Christ, as contained in the first apostolic records, or 'the pattern of the wholesome doctrine, . . . the good deposit,' can only be preserved 'by the Holy Ghost which dwelleth in us.'³ It is necessary to know the secret doctrine of Christ; and since no record of the same had

¹ 1 Tim. iv. 6.² iv. 7; 2 Peter i. 16.³ 2 Tim. i. 13, 14.

CHAP.
V.

as yet been published, it is the verbal tradition, but above all it is the Divine Spirit, which can give life to 'the letter that killeth.' Proving all things, Timothy is to keep the best, under the guidance of the Spirit of God. It is as if the Apostle had intended to transcribe what he had written to the Colossians: 'Let the words of Christ dwell in you *in all wisdom*.'¹

So important is this duty of rightly *dividing* the word of truth; so sure is the apostolic writer that, by the indwelling Holy Ghost, the conscientious, the prayerful enquirer will be enabled to discern all things needful to salvation, that He seals this loving message to His beloved Son by the following solemn declaration: 'I know in whom I have believed (trusted), and am persuaded that He is able to keep (preserve) my *good deposit*' against the day of His coming.² This 'good deposit' of scriptural truth, 'the words of faith and of good doctrine,' in which Timothy has been brought up, and which he has followed;³ this 'pattern of the wholesome doctrine,' which he is to preserve by the Holy Ghost; these criterions of the faith, whereby we know whether a doctrine be of God or not; the commandments of the law, the prophets, and the Lord, these are *contained* in the Holy Scriptures, 'which from a child' Timothy has known, and which, *rightly divided*, are able to make him 'wise unto salvation, through faith, which is in Christ Jesus,'⁴ the Son of '*the living God, who is the Saviour of all men, specially of those that believe*.' By thus proving and spiritually discerning the Holy Scriptures, of which, in the Apostle's opinion, the Septuagint, with the Apocrypha, must have formed an essential part, Timothy will not only keep what is best, that is, his 'faith and a good conscience,' but in doing so he shall save both himself and them that hear him.⁵ Contrariwise, those who consent to the heresies of 'the science falsely so called,' have 'put away' the

¹ iii. 16.

⁴ 2 Tim. iii. 15.

² 2 Tim. iv. 12.

⁵ 1 Tim. iv. 10, 16.

³ 1 Tim. iv. 6.

‘faith and a good conscience,’ they have ‘made shipwreck’ concerning the faith.¹

CHAP
V.

In former chapters we have attempted to prove that the origin of the ‘gnosis’ or more perfect knowledge can be traced back beyond the Babylonian captivity, beyond Moses, and even beyond Abraham. The gnosis originally consisted in a set of principles, the first germs of which were proclaimed by Zoroaster, and which, as we may assume, had been by Divine command promulgated by Abraham, when, after leaving Ur of the Chaldees, the metropolis of Chaldæan learning, he went to Canaan. We then tried to establish that the principles of reformed Judaism, or of Jewish gnosticism, which before the Babylonian captivity did not form part of the national faith, were after that period differently developed in Egypt and in Palestine, inasmuch as they constituted the essence of Jewish orthodoxy in the first place, whilst in the latter they never were recognised by the Jewish church, and were only suffered to be taught secretly as verbal tradition. Referring to the preaching of Jesus Christ, we pointed out that the Lord’s secret doctrine was in the main identical with the apocryphal or hidden tradition, which he developed and partly applied to himself. Owing to the restrictions imposed by the rulers of the Jewish church, He communicated His doctrine only in secret and in darkness to His disciples, or to a few of them, inasmuch as even these were not able to understand His mysteries; but to the people He only spoke in parables.

Conclu-
sion.

In the present chapter it has been our object, by a general comparison of the principles contained in Paul’s epistles with those which are recorded in the Septuagint generally, and in the Apocrypha of the same in particular, to show the general identity of these doctrines. If we have succeeded in doing this, and if our former assertions are not devoid of foundation, it follows as a matter of course, that Paul’s gospel is ‘another gospel,’ when

¹ 1 Tim. i. 19.

CHAP.
V.

compared with that which at first the Palestinian apostles preached; but that it is 'not another,' when compared with the secret Gospel of Christ, which His disciples could not understand nor proclaim. By preaching 'the Hidden Wisdom,' Paul proclaimed 'on the housetops' what the Lord had told His chosen few 'in secret and in darkness.' He thus prevented the original covenant which God made with Abraham from being disannulled and made of none effect, by 'the law which was 430 years after;' he became the chief instrument in God's hands for causing the blessing of Abraham to come on the Gentiles through Jesus Christ.

We have now to point out, in conclusion, and as a confirmation of the above, that the passages in Paul's epistles in which he refers to the gnosis, show the same to have been by him regarded, not as something essentially new in itself, but as a higher and more spiritual knowledge applied to an historical individual; as a link between Heathenism and Judaism.

Paul insists on the universality of 'knowledge.' His words: 'we all have knowledge,'¹ evidently refer to those in whose hearts God has shined, 'to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ.'² And since he says that 'there is not in every man that knowledge,'³ he cannot be supposed to say that all men are 'filled with all knowledge.'⁴ Yet he distinguishes a knowledge which 'puffeth up,'⁵ from that knowledge, 'the savour' of which God makes manifest,⁶ that is from 'the word of knowledge,' which is a gift of the Holy Spirit.⁷ Although, therefore, not all have come to 'the unity of the knowledge of the Son of God,'⁸ and though 'the love of Christ passeth all knowledge,'⁹ yet 'all men' are to come 'to the knowledge of the truth.'¹⁰ But more than this, even 'the Gentiles, which have not

¹ 1 Cor. viii. 1.

⁴ Rom. xv. 14.

⁷ 1 Cor. xii. 8.

¹⁰ 1 Tim. ii. 4.

² 2 Cor. iv. 6.

⁵ 1 Cor. viii. 1.

⁸ Eph. iv. 13.

³ 1 Cor. viii. 7.

⁶ 2 Cor. ii. 14.

⁹ Eph. iii. 19.

the law, do by nature the things contained in the law,' and they thereby 'show the work of the law written in their hearts, their conscience also bearing witness, and their thoughts the meanwhile accusing or else excusing one another.'¹ Both the Jew and the Gentile can work good,² if obedient to the indwelling Saviour. These latter passages plainly imply that, according to the Apostle, the germ of the saving knowledge is in every man. Nor are they opposed to the passages previously quoted, to which many others might be added. For all true knowledge and wisdom is a gift of the Spirit of God, whose saving mission is universal among the sons of men. But to love God presupposes the obedience of the creature to the dictates of the Creator, that is to the Holy Ghost dwelling in him. Christ within man is a mystery, and it is owing to his want of obedience that many are called but few are chosen.

This general definition of the true knowledge or gnosis does not satisfy the Apostle. He shows that the Christian's knowledge cannot be separated from his belief in 'One God the Father, of whom are all things, and we in Him, and One Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by Him. Howbeit there is not in every man that knowledge.'³ Therefore the Christian must accept 'the Word of Wisdom,'⁴ the revelation of what was hitherto a 'Hidden Wisdom,' the application to the person of Christ of the apocryphal doctrine about the Divine Wisdom, Spirit or Word, which was in the beginning with God, and by whom all things were made. It is not enough to know the abstract principles of the Hidden Wisdom; the Christian must combine this knowledge with faith in the realisation of all which that knowledge foreshadowed, faith in the identity of the Man Jesus and of the Spirit of God, faith in the perfect Sonship.

The apocryphal gnosis is the Hidden Wisdom, developed by and applied to Jesus of Nazareth, that is

¹ Rom. ii. 14, 15.² 1 Cor. viii. 6, 7.³ Rom. ii. 10.⁴ 1 Cor. xii. 8.

CHAP.
V.

Christianity according to the Gospel of Paul and the secret preaching of Jesus Christ. If this conclusion is right about the character of Paul's doctrine; if Christ can be shown to have secretly preached one very similar, if not in the main identical with the same; and if it can be rendered at least probable that the twelve Apostles, for various reasons, confined themselves to the recording of but a limited class of the Lord's sayings; then it will be clear at once why Paul writes that he preaches 'another gospel which is not another.' Referring to our foregoing investigations, we venture to assert that it was the Apostle Paul's intention, by these apparently ambiguous and contradictory expressions, to declare that his gospel was different from that preached by the chosen disciples, but that it was not different from that which the Lord had taught 'in secret and in darkness' to those who were to proclaim 'in light' that 'Hidden Wisdom' which it was left to Paul to proclaim 'on the housetops.'

We are thus led to conjecture in the outset that a more or less strong party spirit must have prevailed, at least at first, between Paul and the twelve Apostles.¹ And indeed some of the earliest Epistles of Paul, particularly that to the Galatians, contain some unmistakeable traces of a hostile feeling between those parties. Paul meets at Jerusalem 'the respected persons,' or the persons 'of reputation,' and adds, that 'God accepteth no man's person,' or more literally, that 'before God there is no respect of persons.' He seems thereby to allude to the Jewish authorities in that place, who must have been very closely watching the Apostles and the Christian movement over which they presided. And partly to this jealous supervision is probably owing the timidity of the twelve Apostles, which caused their keeping back, as we try to prove they have done, some of the most important sayings of the Lord, which had not been heard but by them. A doctrine akin to the apocryphal doctrine was thus incul-

¹ For the further proof of this assertion we refer to the chapter on 'The Gospel after Luke.'

cated by Christ, the verbal promulgation of which in Palestine was only permitted to those who had been initiated in these mysteries. Accordingly we find that Paul communicated 'privately' to the Jews and Jewish Christians at Jerusalem that gospel which he preached among the Gentiles, lest he should run in vain. It is clear that he dreaded the interference of the Pharisees and Sadducees, if not of the Apostles themselves, who were but suffered by the former, and probably had no power to resist them. And it is not improbable that for a time the Apostles were almost as zealous of Paul's bold and comprehensive preaching as the rulers of the Jewish church were. Be this as it may, Paul complains to the Galatians that 'false brethren unawares brought in, . . . came in privily to spy out our liberty which we have in Christ Jesus, that they might bring us unto bondage; to whom we gave place by subjection, no, not for an hour, that the *truth* of the gospel might *continue* with you.'

These Jewish Apostles, 'the respected persons' at Jerusalem, with whom as a body he did not confer during the first seventeen years after his conversion, and with whom for a time no one dared to associate, 'in conference added nothing,' or more literally, communicated nothing *new* to Paul. This would hardly have been possible unless their records of the sayings of Christ were incomplete, whilst those men kept their secret traditions to themselves who had by the Lord been initiated in that doctrine, the promulgation of which was forbidden by the rulers of the Jewish church. It is evident that Paul proclaimed openly to the Jewish Christians at Jerusalem that gospel which he preached 'among the Gentiles,' whilst he did so 'privately' to the Apostles, fearing to run in vain. The differences between these and Paul were not of a personal, and hardly of a doctrinal nature, but arose on a question of expediency. Was the time come to proclaim Christ's secret doctrine? The twelve Apostles thought not, but the first among them gave Paul and Barnabas the hand of fellowship when they perceived the grace which was given unto

CHAP.
V.

him. This was, however, but a private recognition, and we hear nothing of a public declaration at this time by any of the Apostles in favour of Paul. It may well be doubted whether the former were in a position to do otherwise, for though Paul had not given place by subjection to the Judaisers, we are led to assume that the others had done so, if indeed their gospel was another than that preached by Paul. Nor was the difference between the two apostolic gospels one which arose from mere expediency. Paul's cardinal doctrine of faith 'without the deeds of the law' was openly opposed even by 'the brother of the Lord,' who presided over the apostolic body.¹ And Paul seems also to include all the twelve Apostles in the number of those who, like the Jews, were 'kept under the law, shut up unto the faith which should *afterwards* be revealed.'² For he claims for himself the exclusive privilege of having himself 'laid the foundation . . . as a wise master-builder,'³ by publicly revealing for the first time 'the Hidden Wisdom which God ordained before the world unto our glory,'⁴ which 'was kept secret since the world began,'⁵ and of which he writes: 'if our gospel be hid it is hid to them that are lost.'⁶ Notwithstanding 'the transcendently great Apostles,'⁷ the least of the Apostles fears lest the Corinthians should by false apostles or their followers be corrupted from the simplicity (or purity) that is in Christ. 'For if he that cometh preacheth *another* Jesus, whom we have *not* preached, or if ye receive another spirit, which ye have not received, or *another gospel*, which ye have not accepted, *ye do bear it admirably*.'⁸ It is clear that many among the Corinthians and Galatians had been 'carried away' by the Judaising opposers of Paul, and had thus been 'removed' from him who had called them 'into the grace of Christ unto *another* gospel.'⁹ So sure does Paul feel

¹ James ii. 17-24.

² Gal. iii. 23.

³ 1 Cor. iii. 10, 11.

⁴ 1 Cor. ii. 7.

⁵ Rom. xvi. 25.

⁶ 2 Cor. iv. 3.

⁷ 2 Cor. xi. 5; xii. 11.

⁸ 2 Cor. xi. 3, 4.

⁹ Gal. i. 6; 1 Cor. i. 11 f.; 2 Cor. xi. 16.

of the Divine sanction of the gospel preached by him, that he considers himself justified in anathematising 'any man,' yea even 'an angel from heaven,' who might preach 'any other gospel' than that which he proclaimed.¹

Whatever the Apostles at Jerusalem might know and think of the principles of Paul's gospel, they did not wish to see it promulgated in Palestine, or they had not the power to allow it. They acquiesced in Paul's preaching 'the gospel of uncircumcision' among the Gentiles on condition that he would 'remember the poor.' Probably they had agreed between themselves and the rulers of the Jewish church to insist on the continued validity of the deeds commanded by the law, and especially to make circumcision the test of Messianic community. No other compromise was possible between the parties, since Paul insisted on the abrogation of the whole law, and regarded circumcision not only as unnecessary but even as fatal for the true Christian.²

Very soon after this conference at Jerusalem a scene occurred between Peter and Paul at Antioch which shows that on this occasion, at least, Peter and some of his brother apostles, or their representatives, 'carried away' some of the adherents of Paul. Whether or not the Apostles were among the number of those to whom Paul did not give way by subjection at Jerusalem, on this occasion he distinctly declares that he withstood Peter to the face. 'For before that certain came from James, he did eat with the Gentiles, but when they were come, he withdrew and separated himself, fearing them which were of the circumcision.'³ James, the superior of the Apostles at Jerusalem, perceived at once that this was a dangerous practice, and one which might undermine their position at Jerusalem, dependant as this was on the goodwill of the rulers of the Jewish church. By not confining his mission to those of the circumcision, and by not living after the manner of the Jews, Peter was

¹ Gal. i. 8.² Gal. v. 2.³ Gal. ii. 11, 12.

CHAP.
V.

following the example of Paul. James therefore sent a deputation to Peter, the members of which prevailed upon him to desist from such conduct. 'Fearing them which were of the circumcision,' he yielded and succeeded in drawing Barnabas after him. This conduct of Peter and of 'the *other* Jews,' Paul stigmatises as a dissembling one, from which we must draw the inference that Peter was prepared already at that time to preach the Gospel of Paul as the secret preaching of Christ, but that his connexion with his colleagues at Jerusalem prevented him from doing so.¹ All the more gratifying is it to know, that in later years Peter and Paul harmoniously cooperated in the preaching of the Lord's gospel at Rome. It is probable that both suffered martyrdom in that city during the Neronian persecution.

It may be surmised that the necessity of combining all efforts for the purpose of combating the gnostic or rather docetic heresies, accelerated this harmonious cooperation, which may have been extended to all the then living Apostles at Jerusalem. We have tried to show that the latter Epistles of Paul, particularly those to the Colossians, Ephesians, and Philippians, seem to be best explained by the assumption that already during his lifetime the Apostle had to contend against such who more or less openly denied the reality of Christ's humanity. He had clearly stated that 'according to the flesh' Christ was 'made of the seed of David,' and that 'according to the spirit of holiness,' he was by the resurrection declared to be 'the Son of God with power.'² But teachers of 'a science falsely so called' seem at that early period to have protested against these supposed humanising tendencies of the Apostle. Even the preaching of Apollos, as probably contained in the Epistle to the Hebrews, and wrongly interpreted, as the Simonians would interpret it, may on this ground have caused a party in the Corinthian church to separate from that called after Paul. The Apostle re-

¹ It is worthy of remark that no cognisance is taken of this scene in the Acts.

² Rom. i. 3, 4.

proves the Corinthians that they do not 'all speak the same thing,' and distinctly shows this to be the cause of the divisions among them. Such false teachers, to whom the humanity, and therefore the cross of Christ, was a stumbling-block, might agree with Paul that under existing circumstances, what was proclaimed by the Apostles at Jerusalem as the primitive doctrine of Christ must be left behind, and that the more perfect doctrine by him secretly taught on earth must be openly promulgated. But as disciples of Philo, they would object to the application of the apocryphal doctrine to any, even to the most perfect, the anointed Son of Man. They could never agree with Paul that the Divine nature of one 'made of the seed of David,' according to the flesh, was identical with the Divine Spirit, Wisdom or Word of God, which was in the beginning with God, and was God. According to them Christianity was the apocryphal gnosis, the Hidden Wisdom, more fully developed than it had been in the pre-Christian period; but it was not that Hidden Wisdom as applied to the Man Jesus of Nazareth in accordance with His secret doctrine.

With regard to Paul's Messianic expectations, we have tried to show, that although he believed in the Messianic future of Israel in the flesh, and though once he believed in a Messiah 'in the flesh,' yet that he will do so no more. For the same Jesus who was 'made of the seed of David,' and 'crucified through weakness,' has been raised a spiritual body, and 'liveth by the power of God.' Paul believed that Jesus was a perfect human advocate of that anointing spirit which was in paradise and in the desert, and that the same Jesus who had come as *the Messiah in the flesh*, would as *the Messiah in the spirit* come again *in those days*, and fulfil all Messianic prophecies. This erroneous expectation seems, in the absence of an authentic record of Christ's secret doctrine, to have led to the ingrafting of similar expectations on the original records of his public sayings. Paul did not preach about '*another*': advocate or comforter.

CHAPTER VI.

THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.

INTRODUCTION — FATHER, SON AND SPIRIT — THE TWO COVENANTS — THE
RULE OF FAITH — CONCLUSION.

'In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.'—John i. 1.

CHAP.
VI.

Introduc-
tion.

WE have attempted to establish that all the leading principles of the gospel revealed to Paul are similar to if not identical with those contained in the apocryphal writings of the Septuagint; and that these Scriptures are the authentic exponents of those principles of secret tradition, of which the most important had been accepted by the reformed party of the Jewish community during the Babylonian captivity.

We hope to have succeeded in showing that what Paul openly proclaimed, Christ had with few exceptions, and in a less enlarged and more hidden form, taught in secret and in darkness to his disciples; that the Apostle Matthew did not record any of those sayings of the Lord which he had uttered in secret; that none of the Apostles at Jerusalem have at first referred to the secret or apocryphal teaching of their Master, being obliged by the Pharisees to abstain from so doing; and that it was Paul who first proclaimed the same on the housetops, by his gospel. The latter he calls another, and yet not another; expressions which are easily explained, if the Hidden Wisdom of Paul was the hidden doctrine of Christ, which the few who were ac-

quainted with it did not at once promulgate. We tried further to explain from this apocryphal point of view the separation of the party of Paul in the Corinthian church from the party of Christ, that is from those who only believed what Christ had openly said according to Matthew's procrastinated record. We likewise thus tried to explain the separation of Paul's party from the party of Peter, although the latter Apostle had somewhat approached the Paulinic doctrine, and seems to have been from the outset more in favour of admitting the Gentiles than the other Apostles were.

Now, it is a fact that, from one motive or other, the party of Apollos in the Corinthian church separated itself from the party of Paul. It is customary to assume that the cause of this separation could not have been a doctrinal one. But this assumption falls to the ground, if it be probable that Paul's party in that same church separated from the parties of Christ and of Peter in consequence of dogmatical differences, which arose from the secret doctrine of the Lord not being generally promulgated; and from this it would follow that the separation of the party of Apollos from that of Paul may have had a similar cause.

Before we inquire whether the probable authorship of this Epistle, and partly even its contents, do not support this view, we must refer to a striking circumstance which seems in the outset to render the same a correct one. The so-called Muratorian list of the books forming the N. T. was probably written by a Roman, and certainly dates from the latter part of the second century, since the episcopacy of Pius the Roman, who died about the year 157, is referred to as having occurred in those days. According to this venerable record there existed in the second century two Epistles, which although they bore the name of Paul, were 'invented after the heresy of Marcion and of several others, which cannot be received in the Catholic church; for it is not seemly to mix gall with honey.' One of these Epistles was addressed 'to the Alexandrians.' We shall now try to establish the

CHAP.
VI.

probability that this Epistle, which was considered heretical by the writer of the above document, is the Epistle to the Hebrews, of which we shall see that the Roman church during the first four centuries strenuously opposed its being received in the Catholic church, whilst the Alexandrian church strove for its general recognition.¹

We have already pointed out the difference between Palestinian and Alexandrian Judaism, as developed in the last centuries of the pre-Christian era. It was based on the recognition of the principles of Jewish reform, that is of apocryphal tradition, which was a hidden wisdom in Palestine, but not in Egypt. We would therefore expect to find that the Christian doctrine, being mainly a development and application of the same, was developed differently in Palestine and in Egypt. For in the Alexandrian churches apocryphal Scriptures were not only placed on a par with those of the Hebrew canon, but these were even freely altered for the purpose of bringing about a more complete harmony between the old and the new. On the other hand, in Palestine all apocryphal Scriptures were excluded from the canon, and according to Pharisaical rule, the principles of apocryphal doctrine were promulgated only by word of mouth among the initiated; the key of knowledge was lost. In order to assign to the Epistle to the Hebrews its proper place in the development of Alexandrian Christianity, and thus to point out its relations with Palestinian Christianity, we shall briefly refer to the following points, which tend to show that this Epistle is identical with that 'to the Alexandrians.'

1. The Epistle may have been addressed to the Hebrews of Alexandria, and the author of the same may be Apollos.

2. Great efforts were made during the first four centuries, and later by the Alexandrian church, to attribute this Epistle to Paul, although the Roman church refused to acknowledge the same.

¹ Among those who have accepted the identity of the 'Epistle to the Alexandrians' and the 'Epistle to the Hebrews' are the following authorities: Semler, Eichhorn, Hug, Schleiermacher, Guericke, Wieseler, Credner, Volkmar.

3. The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, although speaking of the 'Man' Jesus as One who according to the flesh was born as all other men, yet, when he defines Christ's spiritual nature, by identifying Him with the Divine Word from the beginning, he uses expressions which, if taken by themselves, might be construed into a denial of the reality of Christ's humanity. The docetics, such as the followers of Simon, would therefore claim for their views the authority of Apollos. The Apollonian party at Corinth may have thus originated, and have caused Paul's writing against 'the schism of *heresy*.'

(1) The Epistle was *probably* written to the Hebrews or Jewish Christians at Alexandria.¹ It cannot be objected that if this conjecture were right, some allusion ought to be contained to other Christian communities, which could hardly have failed to exist in the great city of the west during the latter part of the first century. We know nothing about the principles of the earliest Christian communities in Alexandria. But what we do know about the pre-Christian development of Judaism on the Egyptian soil strongly corroborates not only the hypothesis that Apollos may be the writer, but also that the Alexandrian Jewish Christians were the receivers of this Epistle. Even before the commencement of the Christian era the connection between the Alexandrian and the Palestinian church was little more than nominal. The rigid church government in the latter was unknown in the former. The consequence of this was, that the Greek canon was systematically altered and amplified. Such alterations of the Hebrew canon, as finally settled by Ezra, were conceived so important in the after-apostolic time, that Justin Martyr quotes such clearly added passages from the Septuagint, and charges the Jews with having purposely altered the *Hebrew* canon by omitting them.²

Destina-
tion.

We have fully pointed out that the independent internal

¹ Comp. Bunsen's 'Christianity and Mankind,' i. 33, &c.

² Comp. Fränkel's 'Septuaginta,' 59 f.

CHAP.
VI.

administration of the Alexandrian church, and the influence of philosophy on the doctrines of the same, led the Alexandrian Jews to harmonise the ancient records with the new tradition. Under such circumstances the amalgamation of the old belief with the new must have been clearly marked, though gradual. And if we have succeeded in showing that the leading principles of Paul's doctrine are in complete harmony with those of the pre-Christian Apocrypha of the Alexandrian canon, then this city must have been admirably adapted for the promulgation of Paul's Christianity. And yet we can no more identify Paul with the Christianity originally taught at Alexandria, than we are permitted to regard Philo as a fair representative of orthodox Judaism, which even in Alexander's city must have had some adherents. It is probable that during the apostolic period every shade of Christian doctrine was preached in this centre of catholicity. If, then, the Epistle to the Hebrews did not refer to such members of the Christian church who dissented from the doctrines to which the recipients of this Epistle adhered, such omission would not be in favour of its having been addressed to the Hebrews at Alexandria.

But indications of such dissent among the Jewish-Christian community addressed by the writer of this Epistle are not wanting. There were some who forsook the assemblages for worship,¹ and fears were entertained that some of the Hebrews might 'fall away,'² and that a 'root of bitterness' might spring up among them.³ The Hebrews, or Jewish Christians, to whom the Epistle is addressed, must have counted some among their number who adhered, or wished to adhere, to that Christian doctrine which was based upon the words 'spoken by the Lord, . . . and confirmed . . . by them that *heard him*.'⁴ This party of what we may term primitive Christians would not recognise the posthumous revelation of the risen Saviour to and through Paul. Therefore the writer calls upon them to 'leave the primitive doctrine of Christ,'

¹ x. 25.² vi. 6.³ xii. 15.⁴ ii. 3.

and to 'turn to the more perfect.' Of this more perfect knowledge or gnosis, Alexandria and Tarsus were, as we have seen, the centre. Nothing, therefore, can be objected to the very probable conjecture that the Epistle was written to the Jewish Christians in Alexandria.

CHAP.
VI.

Although it is impossible to assert positively who was the writer of this Epistle, yet it is in the highest degree probable that it was written by Apollos. The writer is a Jew well versed in Alexandrian speculations, and he shows himself to have been gifted with extraordinary powers of eloquence. These marked characteristics coincide in so remarkable a manner with the description of Apollos as contained in the Acts, as to render justifiable the hypothesis, first emitted by Luther, that Apollos was the author of this Epistle. If by 'the preaching of Jesus Christ' and by the gospel of Paul, 'the mystery' was revealed, 'which was kept secret since the world began';¹ if Christ had taught his mysteries in secret only; if Paul had proclaimed 'the Hidden Wisdom *in a mystery*,' expecting that the Lord, at His then expected second coming, would 'bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and . . . make manifest the counsels of the hearts'; again, if 'these things,' this Hidden Wisdom of Christ, has been 'in a figure transferred' to himself '*and to Apollos*';² who has watered what Paul had 'planted'; if Apollos was 'an eloquent man, and mighty in the Scriptures,' who was 'instructed in the way of the Lord,' was 'fervent in the spirit,' spoke and taught 'diligently (or rather "correctly") the things of the Lord,' and '*began to speak boldly in the synagogue*';³ then the probability gains ground that an Epistle which answers to these requirements, and to the known characteristics of Apollos, was written by this highly gifted man; and that the 'increase' which God granted to the Church was in a great measure due to that Alexandrian, whose name, rightly or wrongly, formed the rallying point for the adherents of one of the four parties in the Corinthian church.

Origin.

¹ Rom. xvi. 25.

² 1 Cor. iv. 5, 6.

³ Acts xviii. 24-28.

CHAP.
VI.Attributed
to Paul.

(2) We shall now point out that the Epistle to the Hebrews has been by many attributed to Paul, and that the tendency to have it recognised as his work can be traced back to Alexandria, and to the time when the writer of the Muratorian list, probably a Roman, condemned a certain epistle addressed to the Alexandrians in the name of Paul. Pantæus (about 180–192), the stoic Alexandrian philosopher, who had become a Christian, seems to have expressed the wish, which may have been general in that city, that the Epistle to the Hebrews should be received as the work of Paul. The pupil of Pantæus, Bishop Clement of Alexandria, is the first person known to us who openly asserted, according to Eusebius, that ‘the Epistle to the Hebrews . . . was written by Paul to the Hebrews, in the Hebrew tongue ; but that it was carefully translated by Luke, and published among the Greeks. Whence also one finds the same character of style and of phraseology in the Epistle as in the Acts.’ Quoting now from Clement’s work, called ‘Hypotyposes,’ Eusebius adds : ‘ But it is probable that the title, Paul the Apostle, was not prefixed to it. For as he wrote to the Hebrews, who had imbibed prejudices against him, and suspected him, he wisely guards against diverting them from the perusal by giving his name. . . . But now, as the blessed presbyter (John) used to say, since the Lord, who was *the Apostle of the Almighty*, was sent to the Hebrews, Paul, by reason of his inferiority, as if sent to the Gentiles, did not subscribe himself an apostle to the Hebrews, both out of reverence for the Lord, and because he wrote of his abundance to the Hebrews, as a herald and apostle of the Gentiles.’¹

We may gather from this that the two far-famed Alexandrians of the second century, Pantæus and Clement, the latter of which died between 215 and 220, were most anxious to remove all existing doubts with reference to the Paulinic authorship of this epistle. Origen (died 254),

¹ H. E. vi. 14 ; comp. iii. 38.

the disciple and successor of Clement as bishop of Alexandria, succeeded in preserving the high repute and authority of the Epistle to the Hebrews, not only in his own diocese but in the entire Greek church. In order to render this possible, he had on his own authority laid down the new and lax rule, to which Tertullian had paved the way, that a Scripture might be inserted in the New Testament collection, even if the same was not of apostolic origin, provided that its contents were worthy of an apostle. He writes: 'The style of the Epistle with the title "to the Hebrews," has not that vulgarity of diction which belongs to the Apostle, who confesses that he is but common (or poor) in speech, that is, in his phraseology. But that this Epistle is more pure Greek in the composition of its phrases everyone will confess who is able to discern the difference of style. Again, it will be obvious that the ideas of the Epistle are admirable, and not inferior to any of the books acknowledged to be apostolic. . . . But I would say that the thoughts are the Apostle's, but the diction and phraseology belong to some one who noted down at his leisure what his master dictated. If then any church considers this Epistle as coming from Paul, let it be commended for this; for neither did those ancient men deliver it as such without cause. But who it was that really wrote the Epistle, God only knows.'¹ Accordingly Origen assigns to the Epistle to the Hebrews its place in the New Testament canon, as the fourteenth Epistle of Paul. And although Eusebius introduced the same into his canonical collection without attributing the former to Paul, yet for a time this first acknowledgment of this Epistle by the Latin church became authoritative, and even led to its being inserted into the canon as the tenth Epistle of Paul, following those to the Thessalonians, and preceding that to Timothy. Yet when Augustine at the Council of Carthage (397) proposed that the Epistle to the Hebrews should be acknowledged as the fourteenth

¹ H. E. vi. 25.

CHAP.
VI.

Epistle of Paul, he was outvoted, and it was decided that the same should form an appendix to the thirteen Paulinic Epistles, so that it followed after the Epistle to Philemon. In the Alexandrian, that is, in the Athanasian collection, however, the Epistle was not only acknowledged as Paulinic, but it seems to have ranged as the fifth Epistle of Paul. For in the Alexandrian manuscript of the fifth century, the Epistle to the Hebrews appears to have been originally placed between Galatians and Ephesians. Again, in the Codex Claromontanus, which is written in the year 600, but is supposed to carry us back to the third century, the Epistle to the Hebrews, here attributed to Barnabas, was separated from twelve Paulinic Epistles by five 'Catholic Epistles,' that is, one of James, three of John, and one of Jude. And yet this Alexandrian Epistle is here placed before the Acts of the Apostles and the Apocalypse of John.

We conclude therefore that it was owing to Alexandrian tradition, and to the influence which the latter had even in the fourth century, that the Epistle to the Hebrews was attributed to Paul; and that these circumstances somewhat confirm the supposition that this Epistle is identical with that to the Alexandrians, which the Roman writer of the Muratorian list condemns as gnostic heresy.

The Muratorian list was probably composed between the years 170 and 190, if not earlier. By not directly referring to the Epistle to the Hebrews, and perhaps by indirectly mentioning it as a docetic Epistle, fictitiously attributed to Paul, this ancient and genuine list of the Scriptures forming the New Testament marks the protest which the Roman church during the first three centuries raised against the canonical authority of this Epistle.¹ Tertullian, who belonged to the African church, and wrote a few years after 190, and who evidently desired

¹ Clement of Rome either knew, as we shall see, a less gnostic version of the same, or he objected to some parts, as can be proved by his quotations. See 'The Epistle of Clement.'

to save the canonicity of the Epistle to the Hebrews, attributed the same no more to Paul, but to Barnabas, whose name he tells us it bore in the superscription.¹ He separates it from the Epistles of Paul. Irenæus, the contemporary of Tertullian, does not directly or indirectly allude to the Epistle to the Hebrews.

CHAP.
VI.

(3) The conjecture that the misinterpretation of the Epistle to the Hebrews by a docetic party at Corinth, led to the same calling itself after Apollos, will be somewhat confirmed by the contents of this Epistle, and by an investigation on the origin of the Roman church. Like Apollos, the writer may be shown to have watered what Paul had planted, and by so doing he seems to have created the suspicion in the minds of the leading members of the Latin church, that he shared the docetic opinions of Simon Magus and his followers. We shall now consider the principal contents of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

The allusions to God the Father are of such a nature as to leave no doubt that the writer, who regards God as a 'person,' and therefore as the source of the indwelling Divine Spirit, has distinguished from the Divine personality of the supermundane Creator, the Divine 'Word' or 'Son,' that is, the Divine agency, the Holy Spirit of God, which proceeding from its Divine source does, according to the grace of God, dwell in man, His creature. Through this Divine agency God has spoken 'at sundry times and in divers manners . . . in time past unto the fathers by the prophets,' who were imperfect advocates of the same. But 'in these last days' He has 'spoken unto us by His Son,' that is, by the perfect incarnation of that Spirit 'whom He hath appointed heir of all things, by whom also He made the worlds.' He is the God of the Son in the same manner as He is the God of the 'fellows' of the same.² Through the Divine indwelling Spirit all men are destined to be sanctified, and thus to become Sons of God,³ so that He may be in the fullest

Father,
Son and
Spirit.

¹ De Pud. 1. ² i. 9. ³ Comp. Rom. xv. 16; 1 Cor. vi. 11; 2 Cor. vi. 18.

CHAP.
VI.

sense of the word 'Father of all them that believe.'¹ The Divine sanctifier and the sanctifying medium are absolutely at one, and therefore all creatures who are brought under the operation of this Divine agency are 'of one,' are brothers, and sons of God. 'For which cause,' even '*the* Son of God,' 'the first-begotten,'² 'is not ashamed to call them brethren,'³ who by the will of God⁴ are sanctified through 'the selfsame Spirit;' who are 'sanctified *in* Christ Jesus';⁵ who are 'children' which God has given him,⁶ and who being sanctified by 'the blood of the covenant,' are 'perfected for ever.'⁷

God is the Creator, who has built 'all things,'⁸ who made the first covenant with Israel,⁹ who, 'by the eternal Spirit,' made Christ, 'the mediator of the new covenant,'¹⁰ and caused Him to appear in His 'presence,' into 'heaven itself,'¹¹ thus raising Him 'to the right hand of the Majesty on high.'¹² He is 'the living God,'¹³ who 'made the worlds . . . by His son,'¹⁴ *that is*, 'by the Word of God.'¹⁵ He is 'the Father of Spirits,' to whom all things are subjected;¹⁶ He is 'the Judge of all,' and is called 'a consuming fire.'¹⁷ To God the Father, therefore, is alone due the continual 'sacrifice of praise . . . that is, the fruit of our lips giving thanks to His name.'¹⁸

Christ the
Word.

It follows, from these extracts, that the writer, whom we will henceforth assume to be Apollos, accepted the doctrine of Paul with regard to the identity of Christ and the Spirit of God, which doctrine the great Apostle expressed by the words: 'the Lord *is* the Spirit.' He clearly implies that Christ is 'the Word of God,' which Paul had done more indirectly, by calling Christ the Wisdom and the Power of God, and the rock which accompanied the Israelites. The distinction between the Divine Word as an idea, and the Divine Spirit as the medium for its realisa-

¹ Rom. iv. 11.² i. 6.³ ii. 11.⁴ x. 10.⁵ 1 Cor. i. 2.⁶ ii. 13.⁷ x. 14, 29.⁸ iii. 5.⁹ viii. 10.¹⁰ ix. 14, 15.¹¹ ix. 24.¹² i. 3.¹³ x. 31.¹⁴ i. 2.¹⁵ xi. 3; Eccl. xlii. 15.¹⁶ xii. 9.¹⁷ xii. 23, 29. ¹⁸ xiii. 15.

tion, is by Apollos more clearly defined than by Paul. He watered what Paul planted. The mission of the Divine Spirit is in this Epistle described in perfect harmony with the doctrine contained in the Alexandrian Apocrypha. The Spirit of God is the principle of inspiration and immortality for mankind, the Divine organ of communication between the infinite and the finite. Through the operation of the 'Holy Spirit from above,' and through man's obedience, humanity is to be conformed to 'the brightness of the everlasting light, the unspotted mirror of the power of God, and the image of His goodness,' that is, to the Divine 'Wisdom' or 'Word,' which in the beginning was 'with' God, as the first-born among all creatures. Through the mediation of the Divine indwelling Spirit men are destined to become 'friends' and 'sons of God.' According to God's 'grace,' the Divine Spirit has 'in all ages' been 'poured on all flesh;' but because of man's disobedience no perfect incarnation was effected. Yet even the sinful creature, by serving the Lord, and being '*obedient to His grace*,' did 'know,' that it is *the Word of God* 'which preserveth them that put their trust 'in the Saviour of all.'¹

According to the pre-Christian Apocrypha of Alexandria, obedience to the dictates of God's indwelling Grace, Spirit or Word was necessary for righteousness, which leads to immortality and to the Divine sonship. But inasmuch as the obedience of sinful man never was complete, he could not be *perfected to the image of God*. Partial sanctification was alone possible. 'The righteous . . . pleased God, and was beloved of Him, so that living among sinners He was translated. Yea, speedily was He taken away, lest that wickedness should alter His understanding, or deceit beguile His soul. . . . He *being made perfect in a short time*, has fulfilled long time.'² 'If we sin, we are Thine, knowing Thy power; but we will not sin, knowing that we are counted Thine.

¹ Wis. xvi. 24-26.² Wis. iv. 7-13.

CHAP.
VI

For to know Thee is *perfect righteousness*, yea to know Thy power is the root of immortality.¹ 'For God made not death, neither hath He pleasure in the destruction of the living; . . . there is no poison of destruction in them, nor the kingdom of death upon the earth. For righteousness is immortal.'²

If everlasting life and the sonship of God can be obtained by the mediation of the Divine Spirit in man, why is another mediator and Saviour requisite? The Apocrypha know of no other mediation. Nor does Apollos, when he states that 'by the eternal Spirit' God *made* Jesus 'the mediator of the new covenant.'³ He clearly explains how this was accomplished. 'Being *made perfect*,' Jesus '*became the author of salvation*.'⁴ 'For it became Him, for whom are all things, and by whom are all things, in bringing *many sons unto glory*, to make the *Captain* of their salvation *perfect through sufferings*.'⁵ 'The law made nothing perfect.'⁶ And though the fathers in the old covenant 'obtained a good report *through faith*,' yet they 'received *not* the promise, God having provided *some better thing for us*, that they without us should *not be made perfect*.'⁷ 'The spirits of just men' were not perfected before the fulness of time, not until the Captain of Salvation, the mediator of the new covenant, had by God been sanctified 'by the eternal Spirit.' It was only then, when the prize of humanity's high calling had been obtained, when God had caused the Man Jesus to appear in his 'presence,' when He raised Him 'to the right hand of the majesty on high,' that the spirits of the righteous men of old, who had obtained immortality, were made perfect and brought 'unto glory.'⁸

In the fulness of time, according to the eternal purpose of God, the man was born, who, being perfectly 'obedient unto death,' never did 'despite unto the Spirit of Grace,' and who, although 'tempted' like 'his fellows,' yet was

¹ Wis. xv. 2, 3.² i. 13-15.³ ix. 14, 15.⁴ v. 9.⁵ ii. 10.⁶ vii. 19; x. i.⁷ xi. 39, 40.⁸ xii. 23.

‘without sin.’ He therefore became ‘the Son of God,’ ‘the brightness of His glory, and the express image (or impression) of His person.’¹ In other words, Jesus had and was what the law had and was not, that is the express image of things to come. He was the Anointed One, who in an especial degree was at one with Him ‘that sanctifieth,’ that is with the Anointing Spirit, with God’s ‘great power from the beginning,’ the indwelling of which ‘in all ages’ had been imperfect, and not conformable with God’s aboriginal idea. That Apollos has applied to Christ the pre-Christian Alexandrian doctrine about the first-born Wisdom, Spirit or Word of God is evident. For, as we have pointed out, in the book of Wisdom the same is called, ‘the brightness of the everlasting light, the unspotted mirror of the power of God, and the image of His goodness.’² Now we have seen that in the Apocrypha God is not revealed as a person, but merely as a Spirit or glory. Even with Moses God did not speak ‘face to face, as a man speaketh unto his friend ;’ nor did He ‘pass’ by before him ;³ and even Moses was permitted to see only ‘part of His glory,’ which, as ‘a robe of glory,’ was ‘put upon Him.’⁴

But although ‘the brightness (or mirror) of the everlasting light,’ and ‘the brightness (or mirror) of His glory’ must be regarded as synonymous expressions, yet Apollos has more fully and pointedly than Paul applied to Christ the doctrine of the Apocrypha, by saying that Christ is also ‘the express image’ of God’s ‘person,’ or more literally ‘the impression of His person.’ In so doing he has, perhaps, distinguished what in the Apocrypha is clearly one and the same thing, that is, the Word of God and the Spirit of God. We have seen that Philo calls the Word or Son of God the first-born and the image of God, the archtype, and the pattern of rational creatures. We pointed out that although Philo, in some passages of his encyclopædic works, speaks of the Divine Word which

¹ Heb. i. 3. ² Wis. vii. 26. ³ Ex. xxxiii. 11 ; xxxiv. 6. ⁴ Eccl. xlv. 3-8.

CHAP.
VI.

was in the beginning with God as a Divine person, yet that he in other passages insists on its formless shape. From this we may conclude that the Divine Word was in that transition-period regarded, by some at least, as having merely an ideal existence, as representing the aboriginal thought of the Creator with regard to the standard to which mankind is destined to be elevated. But Apollos conceived, and with him, as we may assume, all those who believed in Christ, that since the mark of humanity's high calling had been reached by and in Jesus, since the perfect incarnation of God's holy Spirit had been accomplished, the real pattern of mankind has ceased to be a Divine idea, has been manifested in the flesh, *has become a person.*

It is possible that by thus connecting an historical individual with a pre-historical idea, Apollos did either consciously or unconsciously lay the foundation to that docetism which denied the humanity of Christ. Paul had applied the apocryphal doctrine about the Divine Wisdom or Word to Christ; but he did not, like Philo and Apollos, so clearly distinguish between the Word as a Divine idea and the Spirit as a Divine medium of sanctification. Like the pre-Christian writers of the Apocrypha, Paul regarded the Spirit or Wisdom (or Word) as a Divine essence which proceeds from above, and by God's grace, and according to the power of the same dwells in the hearts of men. 'For God who commanded the light to shine out of darkness hath shined in our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ. But we have this treasure in earthen vessels, that the excellency of the power may be of God and not of us.'¹ To this rule the Man Jesus formed no exception. For Paul emphatically declares that 'according to the flesh' Christ 'was made of the seed of David.' The treasure of the Holy Spirit's divine light was also in his case in an earthen vessel, so that 'the excellency of the power'

¹ 2 Cor. iv. 6, 7.

which shone in the heart and in the face of Jesus was 'of God,' and not of his own. But through Christ's perfect obedience unto death, the earthen vessel of His terrestrial body became the perfect, the unspotted receptacle and instrument of the Spirit of God. It was not a mixed infinite and finite essence which shone in the face of Jesus Christ, but the infinite Holy Spirit from above was purely reflected in its aboriginal glory by His sinless body; He was the mirror and image of God, and thus 'from heaven.'

Apollos does not go beyond the limits of Paul by declaring that Christ, whom he indirectly identifies with 'the Word of God,' was the medium 'by' which God created the worlds. This is but the natural consequence of Paul's having identified Christ with the spiritual rock in the wilderness. For according to the pre-Christian Apocrypha, '*by the Word of the Lord are His works,*'¹ on all of which God has poured the same. Again, if Christ, as the perfect visible instrument of the invisible Spirit of God, may be identified with the latter, then the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews may apply to Christ certain passages which the Psalmists have unmistakeably applied to God himself. 'But unto the son He saith: Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever; a sceptre of righteousness is the sceptre of Thy kingdom. Thou hast loved righteousness, and hated iniquity, *therefore* God, even *thy* God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness *above* thy fellows.'² 'And Thou, Lord, in the beginning hast laid the foundation of the earth; and the heavens are the works of Thine hands.'³ It is impossible to assume from these passages, or from any other, that Apollos intended to attribute to Christ a personal existence before His days in the flesh. In this respect the doctrine of Apollos may be regarded as purely Paulinic. What is eternal in Christ is His spiritual nature, that is,

¹ Ecc. xlii. 15.² i. 8, 9; comp. Ps. xlv. 6-7.³ i. 10; comp. Ps. cii. 25.

CHAP.
VI

the effect produced in the person of Jesus by the eternal Spirit of God, which He possessed without measure, or in its fulness. *Why* has God, even the God of the Anointed One, anointed Him *above* His ‘fellows?’ *Because* He has loved righteousness and hated iniquity; or in other words, because He did not oppose the operation of the sanctifying Spirit of God within Him. The other passages quoted from the Psalms confirm this view. ‘Thou art my son, *this day* have I begotten thee.’¹ It is evident that in the opinion of the writer, the ‘day’ when Jesus was begotten by God as the Son of God does not belong to the time previous to the creation of the world; but to the time when the infinite Word of God became incarnate in the finite body of Jesus. ‘The word of the oath,’ whereby God swore to make Him a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec, ‘*was since the law,*’ and it ‘*maketh* the Son, who *is* (not “was”) consecrated (henceforth) for evermore.’²

We see, therefore, that if we meet in this Epistle with one or more passages which, if taken by themselves and in their literal sense, might more or less clearly refer to a personal pre-existence of Christ, these isolated passages, unsupported as they are by any apostolic authority, must be interpreted by the leading principles of apostolic doctrine. The Spirit of God being eternal, and the Spirit of Christ being identical with the same, Christ’s Spirit may be regarded as having eternally pre-existed, or in the words of Paul, as being ‘from heaven.’ What is eternal in mankind is, according to the apocryphal doctrine which Paul sanctioned, ‘the great power from the beginning,’ the Wisdom, Word, Grace or Spirit of God, which being in the beginning with God above, was by Him sent in all ages to man below, to make him the friend and son of God. The Captain of salvation having been ‘made perfect,’ *became the Christ, the Son of God.* His days in the flesh led to life eternal. *Since* that time

¹ Heb. i. 5; Ps. ii. 7.

² Heb. vii. 28.

we may, therefore, say with Apollos : 'Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, and to-day, and for ever.'

CHAP.
VI.

Again, it is not the time past, not the world from the beginning, which God has subjected to the risen Christ, but 'the world to come.'¹ And in applying to Christ, again, without any show of authority, the words which the Psalmist unquestionably applied to man in general,² the writer adds the explanation, that even man is subjected to Christ. And he does so by saying that God 'left nothing that *is* not put under him.' Not only does he not say that all things have from the beginning been put under Him, but he still more qualifies the above remark by saying, 'But now we see *not yet* all things put under him.' If, therefore, it has been stated in the beginning of the Epistle that God has appointed his Son 'heir of all things,' and that he has 'by inheritance obtained a more excellent name' than the angels, this appointment to a partly prospective inheritance, as far as it regards Jesus, cannot have preceded the time when He was begotten, or made, or anointed as the Son of God; which event, according to the writer, took place 'since,' and not before, the promulgation of the law on Sinai.

According to the Epistle to the Hebrews, Jesus is the perfect *natural* instrument of the *supernatural* Holy Spirit, the perfect manifestation of the same in the flesh, that is in 'the veil' of the flesh. It is the terrestrial body of Jesus which was the hallowed abode of the fulness of the celestial treasure. Yet this doctrine about the incarnation in 'the veil' of the flesh was liable of being misconstrued. Some of those who clung to the apostolic preaching might argue thus. Such a 'man' is not a man. He cannot be the pattern of humanity. He may be a type, but he cannot be the real Saviour, who, by overcoming the temptations which are the inheritance of all flesh, by overcoming the world, can teach his fellow-men how to overcome likewise, how to follow in his footsteps, how to

¹ Heb. ii. 5.

² ii. 7, 8; Ps. viii. 4 f.

CHAP.
VI.

acquire the mind which leads to salvation. Such a super-human, celestial Saviour, cannot be the *Incarnate* Word. He may show to mankind, as God showed to Moses on the mount, the pattern of heavenly things,¹ but He cannot be the human realisation of that Divine idea, he cannot be the man who wins the race of humanity and obtains the prize of man's high calling. He cannot be the promised human successor of David, whose body was to be the true temple of God.

Although a few isolated passages, if taken by themselves, would naturally lead to such arguments, yet other passages, and the whole tenour of this Epistle, exclude them altogether. Apollos speaks of Christ as the 'Man' Jesus, and he says nothing about the origin and the nature of his humanity having been exceptional. His is the Jesus of the Genealogies, and no reference is made to any account or conception of his absolutely supernatural birth. In order that He might become the Christ, Jesus must be obedient unto death, for 'the suffering' of which He was made 'a little *lower* than the angels,' in order to be 'crowned with glory and honour,' after having 'by the grace of God tasted death for every man.' For, without passing through the ordeal of temptation and of death, Jesus, the *real* incarnation of the Divine Word, could not have demonstrated to sinful man that perfect obedience to the Divine Spirit is possible. The Spirit of Christ being at one with the Spirit of God, henceforth it is the Son who is able 'to save them to the uttermost that come unto God by Him.'² For, 'through fear of death' men 'were all their lifetime subject to bondage,'³ from either of which they could not be delivered in any other way than by faith in the power of God, and by obedience to the promptings of the same, through the still-small voice within them. 'Forasmuch, then, as the children are partakers of flesh and blood, *He* also Himself likewise took part of the same, that through

¹ Heb. viii. 5.² vii. 25.³ ii. 15.

death *He* might destroy him that had the power of death, that is the devil.' ¹

CHAP.
VI.

The identification of the personal or historical Christ, who had no individual existence before His days in the flesh, with the ideal Christ, that is, with God's aboriginally conceived pattern of humanity, and with the spiritual rock, leads the writer into apparent contradictions.² Such are those passages which, like the last quoted one, seem to imply that the eternal Jesus did determine *Himself* the time and mode of His coming into the flesh. But the most serious apparent contradiction of the apostolic doctrine is contained in those parts of this Epistle where the reality of Christ's humanity seems to be denied. On this point Paul's doctrine, as we have repeatedly observed, was as plain as authoritative. According to the flesh Christ was 'made of the seed of David;' according to the spirit of holiness He was the Son of God, and as such openly declared by the resurrection. This doctrine is treated by the writer, whom we assume to be Apollos, in such a manner, that we should be forced to conjecture, if it were not a fact, that the followers of Apollos separated themselves from those of Paul. The writer regards Melchisedec as one who was 'made like unto the Son of God,' who 'is made not after the law of carnal commandment, but after the power of an endless life.'³ Now, of this Melchisedec, who was fashioned like unto the Son, he says, that he was

¹ Heb. ii. 14.

² We can trace in the writings of Clement of Alexandria, the fellow-citizen of Apollos, similar apparent contradictions. He also identifies the 'Man' Jesus with the Divine principle which more or less pervades all human hearts; but in so doing the reality of the former seems somewhat drawn in question by expressions about the reality of the latter. Thus he writes: 'The Word took *the mask* of man, and having shaped to Himself the flesh, acted the redeeming drama of humanity' (Coh. x. 86). Though he calls Him 'a Man who is God' (Pæd. iii. 1, 251), yet he states that neither food nor drink was absolutely necessary for His body (Str. vi. 9). His flesh was 'prepared' by the Holy Ghost (Pæd. i. 6, 123); and thus a doubt might be raised about the reality of His flesh, and His apparent humanity might be regarded as the garb of His real Divine essence, the infinite as but apparently clothed with the finite.

³ Heb. vii 16.

CHAP.
VI.

‘ without father, without mother, without descent, having neither beginning of days nor end of life.’¹

Again, in applying to Christ, when coming into the world, a passage from the Psalms,² instead of quoting the words of the Psalmist, ‘ my ears hast thou opened,’ the writer adds the words, ‘ but a body hast thou prepared me.’³ It is as if he had been at a loss to find any biblical authority to confirm the above statements, and as if he wished to show that the heavenly Christ could not have belonged to the human race, that the body which God ‘ prepared ’ for His Son’s incarnation was one which owns neither father nor mother—in fact, no carnal descent of any kind. Ever ‘ since the foundation of the world ’ the Word might have appeared in the flesh ; but this incarnation was reserved for the fulness of time. The flesh of Jesus was ‘ the veil,’ or covering, which, like the covering of Moses, was needful, in order to hide from the eye of man the glory of God, which no man can bear to see and live. But it does not follow that during the whole lifetime of Christ on earth, His body was only apparently a human body ; that it was of such a nature that it might have suddenly appeared, or suddenly disappeared ; that it was in that state in which we must conceive Christ’s body to have been whenever He appeared after His resurrection. Having identified Jesus with the eternal Word, the Christ or Saviour of all in all ages, the writer states, that Christ might have taken on Him ‘ the nature of angels, but He took on Him the seed of Abraham,’⁴ and that he was an high-priest *not* ‘ taken from among men.’⁵

It is for the same reason that Apollos does not limit Christ’s kingdom, as Paul does, when he states, that ‘ when all things shall be subdued unto Him, then shall the Son also himself be subject unto Him that put all things under Him, that God may be all in all.’⁶ According to the Epistle to the Hebrews, however, the kingdom of Christ is eternal.⁷ Yet the doctrine of him that planted and him that

¹ Heb. vii. 3. ² xl. 6 f. ³ x. 5. ⁴ ii. 16. ⁵ v. 1. ⁶ 1 Cor. xv. 28. ⁷ i. 8.

watered is essentially the same. For even Paul might have said, that the kingdom of Christ as the spiritual rock which followed the Israelites, as the second Adam, the quickening spirit from heaven, is eternal. Apollos has dwelt more fully upon the identity of Jesus and of the Christ of all ages, because by this identity he could hope to accomplish his principal purpose. He felt bound to prove that Christianity is a perfected Judaism, and therefore nothing essentially new. Judaism he shows to have been not *merely* the type and shadow, but the *coequal germ* of that absolute religion which is identical with Christianity rightly understood.¹ In this sense Christianity has nothing which was completely wanting in Judaism, nor the latter anything which the former has not in essence, though not in form. Even the eternal Messiahship, priesthood, and kingdom of Christ was more than merely typified by Melchisedec, 'the priest for ever,' who having no descent, was independent of Aaron and Levi, and also of Abraham, whom he blessed. Like Melchisedec, Jesus was a priest and apostle of the Most High, an especial advocate of the Divine Word, was 'made like' unto the same, that is, 'like unto the Son of God.'²

The doctrine of justification, as developed in the Epistle to the Hebrews, in every respect, and even literally, accords with that taught by Paul. Justification must be by faith, and without the deeds of the law. The writer first shows that the sacrifices and offerings which the law does command, were in fact never willed by God, who cannot have any pleasure in them. This purpose in view, the writer quotes passages from Psalm xl., and explains that such sacrifices and offerings as 'are offered by the law' could not be at any time well-pleasing to God. For although 'the Gospel' was preached during the first covenant as well as during the second, yet it did not profit them 'which were under the law,' 'not being mixed with faith

The two
Covenants.

¹ This view has been developed by Baur in his 'Vorlesungen über N. T. liche Theologie,' 1864, p. 240 f.

² Heb. vii. 3.

CHAP.
VI.

in them that heard it.’¹ In the old dispensation, the chosen people served only unto the *shadowy* example of heavenly things, for the first covenant was not ‘faultless.’ Therefore God ‘made the first old,’ and sought a place for the second;² he ‘taketh away the first . . . which decayeth and waxeth old (and) is ready to vanish away . . . that He may establish the second.’³ The second is only a revival and fulfilment of the first covenant, which was made not with Moses but with Abraham ‘four hundred and thirty years’ before the law was communicated to Moses.⁴ The promises were made to Abraham and his seed, ‘which is Christ;’ that is to say, they were made to those who would be ‘led by the Spirit of God,’ which in all ages was sent by God from above to dwell with man below, for the purpose of raising him to the Divine sonship. ‘The heirs of promise,’ the true children of Abraham, are the children of God in the Spirit, that is in Christ. They ‘have fled for refuge to lay hold upon the hope’ set before them, as it was set before Abraham. This hope they have ‘as an anchor of the soul, both sure and stedfast;’ it is the hope ‘which entereth into that within the vail,’ that is into the holiest of the holy, into the presence of God.⁵ ‘The true tabernacle which the Lord pitched and not man’ is a spiritual, an invisible temple; it is the heart of man, that which is within the veil of the flesh. But like Stephen, Apollos reminds the Jews that their fathers ‘had the tabernacle of witness in the wilderness as he had appointed,’ and as Moses had made it ‘*according to the fashion (pattern or type)* that he had seen.’ What was shown to Moses was not only a type, but a reality; or in the words of the Apocrypha: God had shown him part of His own ‘glory.’⁶ Therefore Moses still sought for the true ‘tabernacle for the God of Jacob; but Solomon built him an house . . . made with hands,’ . . . in

¹ Heb. iv. 2.² viii. 7, 13.³ x. 9; viii. 13.⁴ Gal. iii. 17.⁵ Heb. vi. 17-20.⁶ Eccl. xlv. 3-8.

which 'the Most High dwelleth not.' The Jews had continued to 'resist the Holy Ghost,' as their fathers had done before.¹

CHAP.
VI.

The law of Moses was therefore but 'the example and shadow of heavenly things, as Moses was *admonished* of God when he was about to make the tabernacle: for, See, saith he, that thou make all things according to the *pattern* showed thee in the mount.'² The Holy Ghost signified 'that the way into the holiest of all was (or rather *is*) not yet made manifest, while as the first tabernacle was (is) yet standing: which was (is) a figure (parable) for *the present time*.'³ 'For if that first covenant had been faultless, then should no place have been sought (be sought) for the second.'⁴ Thus to Abraham more was shown than to Moses. The former, and not the latter, saw the full light of Christ's day. Therefore Moses taught only 'the elementary doctrine of Christ,' which now must be left behind, whilst pressing forward 'to the more perfect.'⁵ For Christ has 'obtained a (so much) more excellent ministry (service), by how much also He is the mediator of a better covenant, which was established upon (under) better promises.'⁶ 'For this is the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel after those days (of the law), saith the Lord: I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts, and will be their God, and they shall be my people. And they shall teach no more every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying: Know the Lord; for they shall all know Me, from the least of them unto the greatest of them.'⁷

Before the perfect manifestation of the Divine Spirit 'in the veil of the flesh,' before the first coming of the eternal Christ in Jesus, in all ages the Spirit of God, which according to God's grace was poured on all flesh, did lead as many as would obey the same to that

¹ Acts vii. 44-51.

² Heb. viii. 5.

³ ix. 8, 9.

⁴ viii. 7.

⁵ vi. 1.

⁶ viii. 6.

⁷ Jer. xxxi. 33, 34; Heb. x. 11.

CHAP.
VI.

knowledge of God which is 'perfect righteousness.' But even 'the just men made perfect' before the time of the new covenant had to wait for the time when the perfect 'pattern' of mankind, as predestinated by God in the beginning, should have been shown to the world, should have become manifested *to* and *in* the flesh. Now the example of heavenly things is no longer an idea, a type or pattern which was shown to Moses; for the Divine Spirit or Word has come down from heaven, and has manifested itself in all its glory, not as in all ages of the world, by dwelling invisibly in the hearts of men, but by shining in the face of a human individual, by dwelling in a *terrestrial body* especially prepared for the Divine Word. Thus personified by a non-eternal earthen vessel, by Him who was made a little lower than the angels, the Word personified by Jesus is what it was from the beginning, that is, 'the brightness' or mirror of God's glory, 'the express image' or impression 'of His person,' manifested on the earth in the veil of the flesh. The Divine Spirit or Word, thus personified, has taken the place by the throne of God, which was up to this '*time of reformation*'¹ occupied by a merely *ideal* image of humanity's high calling. Divine Wisdom, which from the beginning sits by the throne of God, henceforth is represented by the first-born of deified humanity. The spiritual Messiah has become personal.

This true apostolic doctrine of Christ in Jesus, that is of Christ-Jesus as the absolute incarnation of the Word from the beginning, is applied by the writer to Paul's doctrine of the atonement. It is God or Christ in Jesus who has reconciled the world unto himself. In this sense Apollos calls Christ the 'high priest,' who *continually* atones for mankind.² This is the apocryphal doctrine about the Divine Word, the Saviour of all, who in all ages leads men to righteousness, and thus atones for them. Neither Paul nor Apollos directly apply to Christ

¹ Heb. ix. 10.

² vii. 24, 25.

the name of 'the Word;' but whilst the former substitutes the blood of Christ for the blood of the paschal lamb, the latter goes a step further, and having mystically identified Jesus with the incarnate Spirit or Word of God, through which the continued revelation by the prophets had been made, Apollos applies to the high priest, who was 'made higher than the heavens,' the apocryphal and pre-Christian doctrine of a continued atonement. The high priest, according to the Levitical law, once every year passed through the veil into the Holiest of the Holy, but he did not enter the same 'without blood.' For according to the law '*the life (or soul) of the flesh is in the blood,*' and God has given it to Israel upon the altar '*to make an atonement for the soul.*'¹ Since therefore during the first covenant the high priest made an atonement with the offering of blood, 'it is of necessity that *this man* have somewhat also to offer.' If blood be for ever the atoning symbol, or the sign of salvation, if Jesus has presented his obedience unto death, his life, his blood unto God as an offering, then it is Christ in Jesus, it is the Eternal High-Priest from heaven, who has in the human Captain of Salvation fulfilled the anointing or Messianic mission. It is true that 'the souls of the righteous . . . God has been (at all times) well pleased to receive as *a complete offering,*'² and that 'to forsake unrighteousness is a propitiation.'³ But if in all ages righteous *men* were enabled by God's grace to atone for sin, how far more efficacious and enduring must be the atonement of such an high priest, who because of his holiness could offer up himself, the incarnate Word, as 'an offering for sin,' in accordance with the prophecy in Isaiah.⁴

It is God who has *made* the Son and consecrated him, for evermore;⁵ it is God who has made the righteous servant a sacrifice for sin. Because of his obedience

¹ Lev. xvii. 11.² Wis. iii. 6.³ Eccl. xxxv. 1, 3.⁴ liii. 10.⁵ vii. 28.

CHAP.
VI.

to the Divine Spirit, it is the perfect and yet human embodiment of the same, it is Christ's soul which has made a sacrifice for sin. He was obedient unto death; that is, He 'resisted unto blood,' thus effectually 'striving against sin.' His blood was the perfect sign of salvation. What He offered up unto God all His life was His soul, and when it was God's will that He should die the death of the body, He offered up 'the soul of the flesh' which 'is in the blood.' Therefore it may be said, that He offered His blood, *that is His soul*, by His obedience unto death; and since by His perfect obedience, by not doing at any time 'despite unto the Spirit of grace,' He has realised in the flesh God's aboriginally conceived ideal pattern or example of humanity; since His spirit was at one with the Spirit of God, the sign of His spiritual obedience, the type of His soul, that is His blood, may be called 'the blood of the everlasting covenant,' through which God sanctified Him, and raised Him from the dead.¹ If in this sense it may be said of Christ, that He offered His blood or soul as a sacrifice for sin, it follows that we may glorify Christ by calling Him an high priest, although 'Christ glorified not Himself to be made an high priest.' In the opinion of the writer it is God Himself who glorified Him as an high priest, when He said: 'Thou art My Son, this day have I begotten Thee.'²

Henceforth it is not enough, nor at all necessary to be purified as of old. For 'neither by the blood of goats and calves, but by His own blood he entered in once into the holy place, having obtained eternal redemption for us. For if the blood of bulls and of goats, and the ashes of an heifer sprinkling the unclean, sanctifieth to the purifying of the flesh: how much more shall the blood of Christ, who *through the eternal Spirit* offered Himself without spot to God, purge your conscience from dead works to serve the living God?'³ For now that 'this man

¹ Heb. xii. 4; xiii. 20; x. 29.

² v. 5.

³ ix. 12-14.

after he had offered one sacrifice for sins, has for ever sat down on the right hand of God ;' now that 'the apostle and high priest of our profession,' the 'great high priest . . . is passed into heaven ;' now that the 'faithful high priest,' who can be 'touched with a feeling of our infirmities,' though he be *not* 'taken from among men ;' that the 'holy, harmless . . . high priest . . . over the house of God,' that Christ, 'an high priest of good things,' is 'set on the throne ;' henceforth it is 'through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ,' that those who are in Christ, who are led by the same 'eternal Spirit,' who strive to become conformed to 'the heavenly things themselves,' that all these 'are sanctified . . . once for all,' by Christ's vicarious sacrifice. 'For by one offering He hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified.'¹ The sacrifice of doing the will of God, of sacrificing the will of the creature to that of the Creator, that is, the blameless presentation of the soul unto her Maker, has been once and for ever accomplished by Jesus, who thus became the Christ, the One who was anointed above His fellows. To believe in the power of God as manifested through the obedience of this Man, and to be led by the same, is all what God requires, who accepts the earnest will for the imperfect deed, accepts the sinner in Jesus the beloved, imputes on the former the perfect righteousness of the latter, who, as the perfect embodiment of that Messianic power, continues to atone in heaven for the sins of the world.

Thus God 'taketh away the first, that He may establish the second.'² The first covenant was revealed to faithful Moses through the mediation of angels, but Christ 'was counted worthy of more glory than Moses, inasmuch as he who hath builded the house hath more honour than the house. For every house is builded by some man, but he that built all things is God. And Moses verily was faithful in all his house, as a servant, for a testimony of

¹ Heb. ix. 23, 10 ; x. 10-14 ; &c., &c.² x. 9.

CHAP.
VI.

those things which were to be spoken (made known) after. But Christ, as Son (set) over His own house; whose house are we, if we hold fast the confidence and the rejoicing of the hope firm unto the end.¹ Not only was the house or Church of Moses not so large as that of Christ, which is unlimited; but as Jesus has become the Christ, He has become at one with the Spirit of God, which as the Word was in the beginning with God, and by whom God made the worlds. Because the Spirit of God in His fulness was manifested in the temple of Christ's body, He is here shown to have built His own house, that is, His church, 'the Church of the first-born,' that is, of the Spirit.

Henceforth 'the just shall live by faith.' But no longer by faith in the shadowy reality; no more by faith connected with the works of the law; for these things may now be left undone, they have made room for 'the weightier matters of the law,' for the faith in the righteousness of Christ, as the perfect organ of the Divine Spirit. If any one were now to keep 'every tittle of the law,' he would not be looking forward, nor yet enjoy the privileges of the present time, when God remembers no more the 'sins and iniquities' of His people.² Such a man would not profit by the revelation of the risen Christ through Paul; he would 'draw back' to the superseded and therefore 'beggarly elements' of the past. The living God, the righteous judge, will punish such a despiser of the perfect law of Christ with 'much sorer punishment' than the despiser of the faulty law of Moses, although under the old dispensation such a despiser of the law 'died without mercy under two or three witnesses.' Such an observer of the first covenant which God has now taken away, by so doing has trodden 'under foot the Son of God, and hath counted *the blood of the covenant, wherewith he was sanctified*, an unholy thing, and hath done despite unto the Spirit of grace.' Such a man would belong to 'them

¹ Heb. iii. 2-6.

² x. 17.

who draw back unto perdition,' instead of belonging to 'them that believe *to the saving of the soul*.'¹

CHAP.
VL

Faith, 'the confidence of things hoped for, the conviction of things not seen,' was at all times the essential preliminary condition of justification. All just men 'received a good report through faith' in promises which they saw 'afar off,' although they had not 'received' them. Being 'persuaded' of these promises, and embracing the same, though they had neither received nor understood them, they 'confessed that they were strangers and pilgrims on the earth.'² By their faith they drew the future into the present, and by being convinced of the reality of the unseen, they had here below a foretaste of what exists only above. It is the object of faith to believe that God is, 'and that He is the rewarder of them that diligently seek Him,' that He faithfully fulfils His promises, and that all things are possible to God.³ Faith forms a link between heaven and earth, such as the angelic ladder was to Jacob. But whilst Abraham, Jacob, and David sought but a terrestrial country, '*now*' the people of God 'desire a better country, that is an heavenly; wherefore God is not ashamed to be called their God, for he hath prepared for them a city.' The promise, therefore, which even 'the just men made perfect' under the first covenant did not receive, consisted in the revelation of a life to come, of an enduring life of the soul in a heavenly country, in 'the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem,' in the abode of 'an innumerable company of angels,' in the same place whither Jesus is gone before, who is 'the mediator of the new covenant.'⁴ This is the 'better thing' which God has provided for His people of the new covenant. The laws of God having been put into their mind, and written in their hearts, the beggarly elements of the written law

Faith.

¹ x. 27-31, 38, 39; comp. iii. 18, 19.

² Gen. xxiii. 3, 4; xlvii. 9; 1 Chron. xxix. 15.

³ Heb. xi. 6, 11, 19.

⁴ xii. 22, 24.

CHAP.
VI.

having been put aside, the Holy Spirit of God dwelling in man has been poured out on fruitful ground; and this Divine teacher will impart to every individual that knowledge of heavenly wisdom 'which is immortality.' Neither the works of the written law, nor faith in the same, can lead to the righteousness of Christ, but only faith in the power of God. For through His Spirit, or 'through the blood of the everlasting covenant,' 'the God of peace' has 'brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus, that great shepherd of the sheep.' And God is able to make *every man* 'perfect in every good work, to do His will,' working in all through the self-same Spirit 'what is well-pleasing in His sight, through Jesus Christ, to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.'¹

The rule
of faith.

The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews recognises the words spoken by Christ during His days in the flesh as a fundamental authority. This is all the more remarkable, since Paul had not made such an explicit declaration. Apollos states that if the transgressors of 'the word spoken by angels,' that is, the words of the covenant made with Moses, 'received a just recompense of reward;' how shall they 'escape' who 'neglect so great salvation?' This great salvation 'at the first *begun* to be spoken by the Lord, and was confirmed unto us by them that *heard him*.' This is exactly what we should expect Apollos to say, who had not seen or heard the Lord, nor had belonged to those men who accompanied the twelve Apostles during the time that the Lord Jesus 'went in and out' among them;² and who yet enjoyed in the apostolic time an almost apostolic reputation. But Apollos acknowledges the words spoken by Christ in the flesh, and confirmed by His chosen Apostles, merely as the *beginning* of the newly-revealed second covenant. He takes cognisance of the great fact that the risen Saviour has revealed 'another Gospel' to and through Paul. That is the Gospel which Christ had revealed only in part and

¹ Heb. xiii. 20, 21.

² Acts i. 21.

secretly to His disciples, whilst He had not revealed it otherwise than in dark parables to the people. In the same manner and degree, as the second covenant has taken the place of the first, the words of Christ spoken during His days in the flesh, and also those spoken by Him after His resurrection, must take the place of the words revealed to Moses through the mediation of angels.

But the risen Christ has not only spoken to and by Paul; he continues to speak from heaven. 'See that ye refuse not *him that speaketh*. For if they escaped not, who refused *him that spake on earth*, much more shall not we escape, if we turn away from *him that speaketh from heaven*. Whose voice then shook the earth; but now he has promised, saying: Yet once more I shake not the earth only, but also heaven. And this word, yet once more, signifieth the removing of those things that are made; that those things which cannot be shaken may remain.'¹ It is probable that this passage refers to the destruction of Jerusalem. By this appalling event, which was regarded as the beginning of the end, those things were shaken which God has made old and which are decaying and 'ready to vanish away.' The complete and final removing of every kind of terrestrial kingdom, and of every kind of temple made with hands, it was then believed would be shortly accomplished by the shaking of heaven and earth at the time of the Lord's expected second coming. Meanwhile let men listen to Christ, who even now speaks from heaven, and let them be assured that they will receive 'a kingdom which cannot be moved.'

As Paul had said that he and the true believers in Christ, though they had known 'Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth' they would know him 'no more,' so Apollos calls upon the recipients of his Epistle to leave behind the elementary principles of Christian doctrine as

¹ Heb. xii. 25-27.

CHAP.
VI.

revealed by the twelve Apostles, and to press forward to the more perfect doctrine since then publicly revealed through Paul. '*Therefore we will leave the elementary doctrine of Christ and turn to the more perfect.*'¹ In the preceding chapter the writer has complained that the members of the Church he addresses have become 'dull of hearing,' or more literally 'sluggish in the understanding,' or 'of a sluggish mind.' The consequence of this is, that the many things he has to say are 'hard to be uttered,' or that their clear interpretation has become difficult. 'For when (or rather "whilst") ye ought to be teachers, considering the (length of) time (in which you have been taught), ye have again need that one teach you, which are *the first principles* of the Divine doctrine, and are become such as have need of milk and not strong meat. For every one that useth milk is ignorant of the doctrine of righteousness, for he is a babe. But strong meat is for the perfect, who by reason of use have their senses exercised to discern both good and evil. Therefore we will leave the elementary doctrine of Christ, and turn to the more perfect.'²

The Christians to whom this Epistle is addressed, probably the Hebrews or Jewish Christians of Alexandria, seem during a considerable time to have been taught 'the first principles' of that originally apocryphal knowledge or gnosis, which had been confirmed, developed, and applied by Christ, who could confide the same only to a few of his disciples 'in secret and in darkness,' and which doctrine Paul had proclaimed as 'the hidden wisdom.' Although God had revealed the general principles of this perfect gospel to Abraham, yet four hundred and thirty years later, and because of the people's hardness of heart, the law was given to Moses, which was as a slave or taskmaster to accompany the children of Israel to the school of Christ. This law, proclaimed by a mediator who had only seen 'part' of God's glory, and the faulty

¹ vi. 1.² Heb. v. 11-14; vi. 1.

interpretation of the same, had nearly rendered 'of none effect' the aboriginal revelation made to Abraham, and confirmed by God in Christ before the foundations of the world were laid. Now, in the opinion of the writer, the members of the Christian community which he addresses were in great danger of making a retrograde step, by losing sight of these 'exceeding great and precious promises,' and by drawing back to the beggarly elements, that is to the literal interpretation, of the law of Moses, instead of turning to the more perfect interpretation of the same, that is to 'the Wisdom,' which is to be found in it, by 'meditation' and faith in 'the power of God.'¹ Instead of being teachers they were babes requiring milk. The writer plainly implies what he means by 'milk,' as opposed to 'strong meat.' It is the elementary doctrine which Christ *began* to teach whilst on earth, and to which has been added the more perfect doctrine revealed secretly to the Apostles by Christ, but hidden by them, and first publicly revealed by Paul. 'Milk' is the doctrine in the way of the law; 'strong meat' is the Hidden Wisdom.

According to the milk of Christ's elementary doctrine, as the Pharisees had allowed the Apostles to proclaim the same, man was justified by works, and not by faith only. Although the weightier matters of the law, such as faith, were necessary for justification, yet every tittle of the law had to be observed. But according to the new gospel revealed to Paul by Him 'who speaketh from heaven,' a new and more perfect doctrine of righteousness has taken the place of the former. Of this doctrine of righteousness without the deeds of the law, '*every one that useth milk is ignorant.*' Therefore away with the elementary doctrine of Christ, as at first promulgated by the Palestinian apostles, and let us turn to the more perfect. Or shall we build again the things which Paul has destroyed?²

¹ Jos. Ant. iv. 8, 2; ii. 12, &c.² Gal. ii. 18.

CHAP.
VI.

Knowing God, or rather being known by Him, shall we turn again 'to the weak and beggarly elements whereunto ye desire again to be in bondage?'¹ Shall we be 'of them who draw back unto perdition?'² Having been so long time taught in the more perfect 'knowledge (or gnosis) of the truth,'³ instead of being 'perfect' ye have become 'babes,' who are ignorant of the doctrine of righteousness, and ye have again need to be taught 'the first principles' of this divinely revealed knowledge, your senses not having by reason of use been 'exercised to discern both good and evil.'

Like Paul, when he wrote to the Galatians, the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews is afraid that he has bestowed labour in vain upon the members of the Church which he addresses.⁴ Yet he will do his best, and urge them to 'leave the primitive doctrine of Christ,' and to 'turn to the more perfect; not laying again a foundation with repentance from dead works, and faith in God; (with) doctrinal baptisms, laying on of hands, resurrection of the dead, and eternal judgment.'⁵ These, therefore, are the principal errors they must avoid, if they will become perfect, and capable of strong meat.

This enumeration of doctrines now to be laid aside is all the more important, since thereby we are enabled to distinguish the cardinal doctrines of the bygone dispensation from the new revelation by the Hidden Wisdom. To the righteousness by repentance from dead works and by faith in God, is opposed the righteousness by faith only, without the deeds of the law. The warning against doctrinal baptisms probably refers to the ancient Jewish practice of letting the proselytes step into the water some time after their circumcision, and of reminding them during the immersion of the principal doctrines of the Israelitic faith. The baptism of John may only have

¹ Gal. iv. 9.

⁴ Comp. Gal. iv. 11.

² x. 39.

⁵ vi. 2.

³ Heb. x. 26.

differed from this very ancient Jewish rite by the peculiar admonition connected with the same, that an entire change of mind, a new birth, a *renewing* repentance¹ is the necessary preliminary to salvation. If so, the writer's protest against doctrinal baptisms would strengthen the supposition that Apollos is the author of this Epistle; for of him we are told that he knew 'only the baptism of John,' who came 'in the way of righteousness.'²

Again, the laying on of hands may have been connected at that time with superstitions which the author of this Epistle did not approve.³ His remark about the resurrection of the dead is likewise very instructive. The Jews believed in the corporeal resurrection of the dead, although according to apocryphal or eastern tradition the resurrection consisted in a continued life of the soul. This was also the doctrine of Paul. According to Christ's Hidden Wisdom, therefore, the general resurrection was not a renewing of the flesh. Finally, the doctrine of eternal judgment is unknown, as to the Apocrypha and to Paul, so to Apollos. Those only 'draw back unto perdition,' who do not believe in the power of God to save the soul. And although the writer speaks of Esau as not having found 'a place of repentance,' yet he protests throughout his Epistle against the eternity of Divine judgment. Everlasting fire need not be the everlasting abode of the unbeliever.

Although, therefore, the writer distinctly recognises the authority of the elementary doctrine of Christ, yet he insists that the words spoken by the Lord in the flesh must be interpreted in accordance with the light of the doctrine revealed by Him from heaven after His ascension. This more perfect knowledge or *gnosis* continues to be revealed by 'Him that speaketh' from heaven. Before the first appearing of Christ unto salvation, it was

¹ Comp. vi. 6. ² Matt. xxi. 32; Acts xviii. 25. ³ Comp. 'The Acts.'

CHAP.
VI.

the invisible Spirit of God which in all ages was sent by God from heaven above to men below, in order to make them the friends and sons of God, after the image of His primordial pattern of all rational beings. According to the Apocrypha, and to the teaching of Paul, the ideal son, predestinated by God, was to be realised in the flesh by the joint operation of the Spirit or Word of God, which was with Him ever since the beginning, and of man's free will, or of his obedience. According to the Hidden Wisdom the Divine Word had become incarnate, and therefore absolutely identical with Jesus, who thus became the impersonification of the eternal anointing or Messianic Spirit of God.¹ Therefore, to the 'elementary' doctrine of Christ as first proclaimed by the twelve Apostles, must be added the more perfect Hidden Wisdom which Christ begun secretly to reveal in the flesh, and which He first fully revealed from heaven to and through Paul.

Conclu-
sion.

We have seen that Apollos is the probable author of the Epistle to the Hebrews; that it contains passages which, whilst referring to Christ's Divine nature, might be so construed by the Simonians as to sanction their erroneous views about the human nature of Jesus; that the separation of the so-called party of Apollos from that of Paul, in the Corinthian church, may be explained by the assumption that a docetic party existed there which called itself the party of Apollos; again, that we might thus explain the mysterious statement made by a probably Roman writer at the end of the second century in the so-called Muratorian document, according to which Paul wrote to the Corinthians, warning them against the '*schism of heresy*;' that independently of the highly probable hypothesis about Apollos being the author of

¹ According to Clement of Alexandria, Christ appeared for the purpose of showing what is possible to man by his obedience to the Divine commands (Pæd. vii. 2, 833).

this remarkable Epistle, the contents and the history of the same permit us to assert that it is identical with one of the two Epistles mentioned in the Muratorian list, which were fictitiously promulgated as works of Paul, whilst, in the opinion of the Roman church, invented after 'the heresy of Marcion and others;' and finally, that of these two Epistles, which were addressed to the Laodiceans and to the Alexandrians, the latter has been transmitted to us as the Epistle to the Hebrews, which the Roman church during the first three centuries refused to admit into the canon of the New Testament, probably because of its supposed hidden leaning towards doceticism, whilst in Alexandria this Epistle was at all times not only regarded as orthodox, but as the work of Paul or of such persons like Barnabas, who were his disciples.

We have already pointed out that whilst, during and after the Babylonian captivity, the eastern doctrine of the resurrection was confirmed by the prophets of Israel, yet that the eastern doctrine about the Divine Word of God was not so confirmed, and that, consequently, the same was in Palestine not generally regarded as an element of sound doctrine. We likewise showed that in Egypt even this latter tradition about the Divine Word was fully recognised, and that the apocryphal books containing the principles of the same formed part of the Alexandrian canon, whilst the former were at all times excluded from the Hebrew canon. This difference between Palestinian and Alexandrian Judaism led to a marked difference between Palestinian and Alexandrian Christianity. For, by the new gospel revealed through Paul in the name of the risen Christ, the principles peculiar to the reformed Judaism contained in the Apocrypha were sanctioned. These apocryphal principles had already been confirmed, developed, and applied by Christ himself during His days in the flesh. But this He had done in secret, and not

CHAP.
VI

openly, being closely watched by the rulers of the Jewish church, who did not permit the promulgation of the Hidden Wisdom. As preached by the twelve Apostles, Christ's doctrine was more akin to Palestinian than to Alexandrian Judaism; whilst, as preached by Himself secretly, and by Paul publicly, it was the reverse. The writer of this Epistle has in some points gone beyond Paul. Whilst the latter but mystically identified Christ the Power of God and the Wisdom of God, with the Divine Word, by saying that Christ was the spiritual rock which accompanied the Israelites, Apollos directly calls Christ the Son of God, by whom He created the worlds, which in another passage are declared to have been framed by 'the Word of God.' This identification of the Man Jesus with the eternal divine essence, led the writer of the contemporaneous Epistle of Barnabas to claim for Christ an eternal personal existence by the side of the Creator; and it confirmed the Simonians, as later the docetic Marcion, in the denial of Christ's humanity. If, then, we can render probable that the Roman church at first rejected the apocryphal doctrine of Christ, and that the apostolic record of the same was not published till about the middle or towards the end of the second century, then we can understand why, up to that time and later, the Roman church refused to acknowledge even the Epistle to the Hebrews; why its doctrine was compared to that of Marcion, as gall which cannot be mixed with honey; and why the Corinthian schism is designated as a schism of 'heresy.' Whether the so-called Apollonians in that church were docetics, or less extreme ultragnostics, their embracing the further developed doctrinal system of Apollos, as probably contained in this Epistle, would in the second century, in those days of violent controversy, be regarded as heretical. And it may be for this reason that the Church has never raised Apollos to the dignity of a saint. We shall try to establish, by a

minute consideration of the Epistle of the Roman Clement to the Corinthians, that the probably docetic 'schism of heresy,' which had broken out during the lifetime of Paul in this Church, and against which he warned the Corinthians in his Epistle, was renewed with greater force and increased danger to the Christian church a few years after Paul's death.

CHAP.
VI.

The Alexandrian so-called Epistle of Barnabas, and the Epistle of the Roman Clement, sufficiently show that the principles of secret tradition sanctioned and developed by the Lord, were not only kept in the background, but zealously opposed by those Christian communities who regarded the twelve Apostles as the only authorised teachers of Christianity; whilst, on the other hand, the hidden or apocryphal Christianity which Paul had brought to light was, by other Christian churches, considered to form the centre of the Lord's doctrine. The non-recognition of apocryphal Christianity by the Apostles at Jerusalem did not only prevent Paul from at once joining that body, but it prevented a union of the Palestinian and Alexandrian churches. Meanwhile docetic principles were promulgated which led to the denial of Christ's humanity. The basis was laid for docetic Christianity, which, even during the apostolic period, threatened to undermine all historical Christianity, and which in later centuries was so materially to affect the development of Christian doctrine.

If there was 'heresy' in the schism which broke out at Corinth during Paul's lifetime, it must have been caused by the separation of the party called after Apollos from that called after Paul. And if Apollos be the author of this Epistle, that heresy may have been without the author's sanction derived or developed from those passages in which, if taken by themselves, a not sufficient accentuation of the humanity of Christ might be found. To raise such a charge against this Epistle would, however,

CHAP.
VI.

be to misinterpret the precepts therein contained. The writer's principal object is to show that the Messiahship of Jesus consists in his having been, not the fulfiller of all Messianic prophecies, but the perfect incarnation of the Divine Word, of that eternal anointing or Messianic spirit which was in the first Adam as in the second, but perfectly manifested in the latter only. Thus a temple not made with hands, the temple of the body of Jesus, of the One greater than the stony temple, of the high priest who went through 'a greater and more perfect tabernacle, not made with hands,' had been manifested to the world as the dwelling-place of the Shechina or of the Divine presence. The man had been born, in whom as of old in the angel of God's presence, dwelled the name or spirit of the Most High. The Divine Word, which had in all ages entered into holy souls, making sons of men friends of God and prophets, which had taken its rest in Jerusalem and its roots in Israel, had become flesh in the Man Jesus, the Man of God's presence. 'God who at sundry times and in divers manners, spake in times past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken to us by His Son.'

If the Alexandrian church regarded this Epistle in the light of the Hidden Wisdom of Christ, which he had only *begun* secretly to proclaim whilst on earth; if it interpreted the same in the light of that gospel which should *afterwards* be revealed, and which *was* accordingly first revealed by Paul, then that Church was right in insisting on the full recognition of this sublime Epistle. And if the Roman church for more than three centuries persisted in rejecting the same, because the great enemies of all historical Christianity, the docetics, might have derived strength from its canonical acknowledgment, then that Church was equally right. On these grounds we entirely agree that 'the canonical authority of the Epistle to the Hebrews . . is secure,' and that 'the doubts

which affected it were admitted in remote places, or in the failure of knowledge, or under the pressure of times of intellectual excitement,' and that 'they have disappeared before full information and calm judgment.'¹

CHAP.
VI.

¹ See Mr. Bullock's article in Smith's Dictionary.

CHAPTER VII.

THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS.

DOCETIC DEVELOPMENT OF GNOSTICISM.

'This is that spirit of Antichrist, whereof ye have heard that it should come; and even now already is it in the world.'—1 John iv. 3.

CHAP. VII.
 The Author.

THE Epistle attributed to Barnabas has probably been written towards the end of the first century. The destruction of Jerusalem is referred to as an event which had lately taken place. 'Although you have seen so great signs and wonders done among the people of the Jews, yet this notwithstanding the Lord hath forsaken them.'¹ On the other hand it has been remarked,² that if the writer had composed this Epistle as late as in the time of Hadrian (119), when referring to the destruction of the temple by the Romans, he could hardly have failed to point out the 'Ælia Capitolina' as a striking proof of God's wrath against the Jews. Again, the omission of every allusion to persecutions of the Christians, as far as an indirect proof goes, would seem to refer to the time immediately preceding or directly following upon the reign of Domitian (87-96). For Eusebius informs us,³ that before the time of Marcus Aurelius (161-180), the Christians had been persecuted only under Nero and under Domitian.

This Epistle was certainly written after the Epistle to

¹ iii. 16. We have accepted the classical though faulty translation of Archbishop Wake contained in 'The Apocryphal New Testament, London, 1820.'

² Hilgenfeld, 'Die Apost. Väter.'

³ H. E iv. 26.

the Hebrews, and before the Gospel after John. If the apocalypse was written at the time when this Epistle was composed, which is more than probable, the writer of the latter shows that he did not share, or did not wish to enlarge upon, the apocalyptic views about Antichrist.

Respecting the authorship of this Epistle, all that can be said with certainty is that Barnabas, the Levite of Cyprus, cannot have written the same. It is true, that the Clementine homilies¹ speak of Barnabas as having preached in Alexandria, and that according to Eusebius, John Marcus, the cousin and companion of Barnabas, was the founder of the Alexandrian church. But it is quite impossible that a man like Barnabas, to whom in Scripture the title and dignity of an Apostle is given,² could have spoken in so very disrespectful terms about the twelve Apostles, whilst never mentioning Paul. Again, Barnabas, who had been at Antioch, could not have written that all Syrians were circumcised. The unknown writer seems to have belonged to the Alexandrian church, and he certainly addresses Gentile-Christians. Clement of Alexandria and Origen repeatedly quote it, and they regard the same as the work of Barnabas, whilst Origen calls it a 'Catholic Epistle.' Although Tertullian attributes the same to Barnabas, yet neither by the Church of Rome nor by that of Africa was it considered as of canonical authority. It formed part of the Athanasian canon, and its complete Greek text has been transmitted to us by the lately-discovered Sinaitic gospel-manuscript of the 4th century.

The writer states, that he is 'a teacher;'³ he addresses some whom he calls his 'sons and daughters,' and in whom he has 'perceived abundance of knowledge of the great and excellent laws of God,'⁴ a spirit having been infused into them 'from the pure fountain of God,'⁵ who 'has put the engrafted gift of his doctrine within us.'⁶

¹ i. 9.² Acts xiv. 4, 14.³ i. 10, 4; viii. 14.⁴ i. 1, 2.⁵ i. 3.

viii. 14.

CHAP.
VII.

Yet he wishes to address them 'not as a teacher' but as one of themselves;¹ having had 'more than ordinary good success in the way of the law of the Lord, which is in Christ,'² he will take care to communicate a part of that which he has 'received,' so that together with their 'faith,' their 'knowledge also may be perfect.'³

The two
Covenants.

Like his forerunner and probable contemporary Apollos, the writer develops the great Paulinic doctrine of righteousness without the deeds of the law, and only by faith in the power of the Divine Spirit in man. He does not regard righteousness as a condition, but as a consequence of grace, and he shows that the Gentiles were always intended to become 'the first people and heirs of the covenant,'⁴ that is of that original covenant of faith made with Abraham, and which, as Paul had taught, 'the law which was 430 years after cannot disannul, that it should make the promise of none effect.'⁵ He refers to the two nations which should descend from Rebecca's twin children; then speaking of Ephraim and Manasseh, he says that Jacob 'by the spirit foresaw the figure of the people that was to come,' and therefore refused to put his hand on Manasseh the first-born, inasmuch as the greater should serve the lesser. This is what God had in view already when he told Abraham that he had made him 'a father of the nations which without circumcision believe in the Lord.' And though Moses did receive of the Lord (through the mediation of angels) 'two tables written with the finger of the Lord's hand in the Spirit,'⁶ yet because Israel turned aside in the wilderness from the ways which God had commanded them, 'Moses cast the two tables out of his hands, and their covenant was broken, that the love of Jesus might be sealed in your hearts unto the hope of his faith.'⁷ 'They were not worthy;' therefore 'the Lord *himself* has given them (the tables) unto us, that we might be the people of his inheritance, having suffered for us. He was

¹ i. 10.⁵ Gal. iii. 17.² i. 4.⁶ xii. 13.³ i. 6.⁷ iii. 9.⁴ xii. 8.

therefore made manifest, that they should fill up the measure of their sins, and that we being made heirs by him, should receive the covenant of the Lord Jesus.¹ The writer then points out, that according to the prophecies of Isaiah, the servant and elect of God whom he would uphold, and on whom the Spirit of the Lord would rest, was promised to be given 'for a covenant of the people, for a light of the Gentiles.'² Now in his opinion, Christ came only as 'a light to lighten the Gentiles,' and not likewise as 'the glory' of God's people Israel; for the Jews had the offer of a covenant, but refused and therefore never possessed it. To the Gentiles only Christ's coming was a blessing; to the Jews it was a curse. He writes to the Gentile congregation which he addresses as standing on the same foundation of hope, that Christ was 'for that very end prepared, that by his own appearing he might redeem *our* hearts, already devoured by death, and delivered over to the irregularity of error, from darkness; and establish a covenant with *us* by his word, . . . to prepare unto himself a holy people.'³ According to this 'gnosis,' or more perfect knowledge, not as first openly revealed by Paul, but as further developed by the 'teachers' or 'docetæ' of Alexandria, salvation is not 'for the Jews first;' that which is done away is not 'glorious';⁴ there was no 'first Testament,' and Christ is not 'the mediator of the New Testament, that by means of death, for the redemption of the transgressions (that were) under the first Testament, they which were called might receive the promise of eternal inheritance.'⁵ No, 'those (who were) heretofore,' those who called themselves the people of God, 'have *for ever* lost what Moses received.' Therefore he beseeches the members of the Church which he addresses: 'Look well to yourselves, and be not like to those who add sin to sin, and say that their covenant is ours also; nay, but it is ours only.'⁶ What is called the

¹ xii. 15-17.² Is. xlii. 6, 7; comp. xlix. 6; lxi. 1, 2.³ xii. 18-20.⁴ 2 Cor. iii. 7.⁵ Hebr. ix. 15.⁶ iii. 7.

CHAP.
VII.

law of Moses is therefore a mere invention of man in the form in which it has been transmitted. And even that which Moses did receive on Sinai, and which the Jews have lost, could not disannul the original covenant made with Abraham 430 years earlier. The Jewish law, with its 'new moons and sabbaths,' 'appointed feasts' and 'sacrifices,' and 'fasts,'¹ is put away; for even 'the solemn meeting, . . . is iniquity.' 'These things therefore hath God abolished, that the new law of our Lord Jesus Christ, which is without the yoke of *any such* necessity, might have *the spiritual offering of men themselves*.'² This sort of sacrifice is the only acceptable one to God. To them therefore who believed in the doctrine of atonement by the blood of beasts, God says: 'Ye shall no more tread my courts.'³ But very different is God's message to the Gentiles. 'Forasmuch then as we are not without understanding, we ought to apprehend the design of our merciful Father. For he speaks to us, being willing that we who have been *in the same error about the sacrifices*, should seek and find how to approach unto him. And therefore he thus bespeaks us: "the sacrifice of God (is a broken spirit), a broken and contrite heart God will not despise." Wherefore, brethren, we ought the more diligently to inquire after those things that belong to our salvation, that the adversary may not have any entrance into us, and deprive us of our *spiritual life*.'⁴

This life in the spirit is the life in Christ, who is the spirit, as Paul had taught. But the Alexandrian writer goes beyond Paul in the doctrine of the spirit, as in the doctrine of the covenants; and he goes also beyond the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews. He insists on the personal existence of Christ before the days of His flesh. 'Thus the Scripture saith concerning us, where it introduceth the Father speaking to the Son . . . before the beginning of the world; . . . let us make man after *our* likeness and similitude; . . . and when the Lord saw the man

¹ ii. 7, 14.² ii. 4-8.³ ii. 6.⁴ ii. 11-13.

which he had formed, that behold he was very good, he said : Increase and multiply and replenish the earth ; and this He spake to his Son.¹ When at God's 'commandment'² Christ consented to come into the flesh, he came into his own 'inheritance ;'³ for Christ is 'the Lord of the whole earth.'⁴ 'He clearly manifested himself to be the son of God,' and this not by his resurrection, as Paul had taught, but because 'had he not come in the flesh, how should man have been able to look upon Him that they might be saved? Seeing, if they beheld only the sun, *which was the work of his hands*, and shall hereafter cease to be, they are not able to endure steadfastly to look against the rays of it. Wherefore the Son of God came in the flesh for this cause, that he might fill up the measure of their iniquity, who have persecuted *His* prophets unto death. And for the same reason also he suffered.'⁵ For 'the prophets having received *from him* the gift of prophecy, spake before concerning him'⁶ . . . ; but he, that he might abolish death, and make known the resurrection from the dead, was content, as it was necessary, to *appear* in the flesh, that he might make good the promise before given to our fathers, and preparing himself a new people, might demonstrate to them whilst he was upon earth, that after the resurrection he would judge the world.'⁷ All these passages, and others which might be added, may be so explained as to prove the identity of the Spirit of Christ and of the Spirit of God, and thus only the Spiritual pre-existence of Christ, who is called '*the vessel*' of the Spirit of God.⁸ Yet some of these passages clearly point to the personal existence of Christ before His days in the flesh. And this doctrine is intimately connected with the doceticism of the writer.

The author of this Epistle finds himself placed in the same difficulty which Paul had first to encounter. One of his main objects is to persuade a Judaising set of so-called

¹ v. 12, 13; iv. 7² v. 1.³ iii. 4; comp. John i.⁴ iv. 7.⁵ iv. 13-15.⁶ iv. 9.⁷ iv. 10.⁸ x. 13.

CHAP.
VII.

Christians, that sacrifices are not and never were wanted to approach unto God. As in the days of Paul, so at the close of the first century, the teachers of the true worship of spiritual self-offering would be opposed by the Jewish Christians pointing to the Mosaic law, where it is written, that 'the blood maketh an atonement' for the souls of men. The Alexandrian developer of Paul's doctrine meets this opposition as Paul did, by substituting the blood of Christ for the blood of beasts. 'For this cause did our Lord vouchsafe to give up His body to destruction, that through the forgiveness of our sins we might be sanctified, that is by the sprinkling of His blood.'¹ 'Seeing, therefore, He has renewed us by the remission of our sins, He has put us into another frame, that we should have souls like those of children, forming us again Himself by the Spirit.'² 'Having received remission of our sins, and trusting in the name of the Lord, we are become renewed, being again created as it were from the beginning. Wherefore God truly dwells in our house, that is in us. But how does He dwell in us? The word of His faith, the calling of His promise, the wisdom of His righteous judgments, the commands of His doctrine, He Himself prophecies within us, He Himself dwelleth in us, and openeth to us, who were in bondage of death, the gate of our temple, that is the mouth of wisdom, having given repentance unto us; and by this means has brought us to be an incorruptible temple. *He therefore that desires to be saved looketh not unto the man, but unto Him that dwelleth in him and speaketh by him; . . .* this is that spiritual temple that is built unto the Lord.'³ But 'before that we believed in God the habitation of our heart was corruptible and feeble, as a temple truly built with hands.'⁴

From these very remarkable passages it clearly follows that, although the writer accepted the phraseology of Paul with regard to redemption by blood, yet that he regarded Christ as the Redeemer, not because of His

¹ iv. 1.² v. 11.³ xiii. 21-24.⁴ xiii. 18.

blood-shedding, which seems to have been regarded as a symbol of His obedience unto a bloody death, but because He was a perfect incarnation of God's redeeming Spirit, which Divine Spirit dwelt in Christ without measure.

Another difficulty which the writer had to encounter lay in the Messianic expectations of the Jews and Jewish Christians. All those passages in this Epistle which refer to the types foreshadowing the coming of Christ, and especially His personal pre-existence and His atoning death, clearly show that the Jewish Christians would not accept Christ as the expected Messiah unless a sufficient number of types could be shown to have been fulfilled by Him. The writer undertakes this difficult task apparently without being able to give an apostolical sanction for this typical view of Christ. He only refers to Matthew's original record of the sayings of the Lord as an authoritative evangelical scripture; and none of these so recorded sayings of Christ seem to have at all referred to the types of the Old Testament. Therefore he either refers to apocryphal scripture or he does so alter the original text of the Old Testament, as to make parts of the same suit his purpose. He shows that Scripture must not be taken literally, but that its true import must be spiritually discerned by a free handling of the same. Thus the prophecy of Daniel about the ten kings is shown to refer to their 'reign in the heart;' and yet, like the prophecy about 'the little horn,' it is referred to the coming of Christ.¹ He alludes to Moses fasting forty days and forty nights in the mount,² but does not point this out as a type of Christ's fasting in the desert, as if the account of his having done so was not known to or accepted by him. The breaking of the two tables of stone is referred to as a sign of the Mosaic covenant being intended to be broken and disannulled. The prophecy of Isaiah is quoted in an altered form, as if the doctrine of redemption by blood could not be supported in any other authoritative manner by passages

¹ iii. 4-7.² iii. 8.

CHAP.
VII.

from the Old Testament. 'He was wounded for our transgressions, He was bruised for our iniquities, *and by His blood* we are healed.'¹ The prophecy about the corner-stone in Zion is shown to refer to Christ; not that our hope is built upon stone, 'but because the Lord hath hardened His flesh against sufferings.'² Nothing is said about the absolutely supernatural birth of Jesus.

The following are among the prophecies quoted as referring to Christ's passion. 'The stone which the builders refused has become the head of the corner.' And again he (the prophet) saith: This is the great and wonderful day which the Lord hath made. I write these things the more plainly to you that ye may understand: *for indeed I could be content even to die for your sakes.* But what saith the prophet again: 'The counsel of the wicked encompassed me about';³ they came about me as bees about the honeycomb.⁴ And upon my vesture they cast lots; forasmuch then as our Saviour was to appear in the flesh and suffer, His passion was hereby foretold.'⁵ Again, the words: 'Enter ye into the good land . . . flowing with milk and honey,' imply by their 'spiritual meaning:' 'put your trust in Jesus, who shall be manifested to you in the flesh.'⁶ He then quotes a prophecy from a non-canonical source: 'The Lord saith, I will make the last as the first,'⁷ which harmonises with the words of Christ as quoted by Luke, 'the last (shall be) first.' The Lord's incarnation, according to the writer, was typified by the new creation announced by the prophecy about the hearts of flesh. 'Wherefore ye see how we are again formed anew; as also he speaks by another prophet: Behold, saith the Lord, I will take from them, that is from those whom the Spirit of the Lord foresaw, their hearts of stone, and I will put into them hearts of flesh. Because He was about to be made manifest in the flesh, and to dwell in us;⁸ . . . thus He made us a new

¹ iv. 3; Is. lii. 5, 7.

² v. 3.

³ Ps. xxii. 16.

⁴ Ps. cxviii. 12.

⁵ v. 5, 6.

⁶ v. 9.

⁷ v. 15.

⁸ v. 16, 17.

creature in the latter days.'¹ 'For, my brethren, the habitation of our heart is a holy temple unto the Lord. For the Lord saith again: In what place shall I appear before the Lord my God and be glorified? He answers: I will confess unto Thee in the congregation in the midst of my brethren, and will sing unto Thee in the church of the saints. Wherefore we are they whom He has brought into the good land. But what signifies the milk and honey? Because as the child is nourished first with milk and then with honey, so we being kept alive by the belief of His promises and His word, shall live and have dominion over the land, . . . when we shall become perfect, that we may be made the inheritors of the covenant of the Lord.'²

CHAP.
VII.

'If, therefore, the Son of God, who is the Lord of all, and shall come to judge both the quick and the dead, hath suffered, that by his stripes we might live, let us believe that the Son of God could not have suffered but for us. (However "the Lord hath hardened his flesh against sufferings."³) But being crucified they gave Him vinegar and gall to drink. Hear, then, how the priests of the temple did foreshow this also. The Lord by his command, which was written, declared that whosoever did not fast the appointed fast, he should die the death, because He also was himself one day to offer up His body for our sins, that so the type of what was done in Isaac might be fulfilled, who was offered upon the altar. What, therefore, is it that he says by the prophet? And let them eat of the goat which is offered in the day of the fast for all their sins. Hearken diligently (my brethren), and all the priests, and they only shall eat the inwards not washed with vinegar. Why so? Because I know that when I shall hereafter offer my flesh for the sins of a new people, ye will give me vinegar to drink mixed with gall; therefore do ye only eat, the people fasting the while, and lamenting in sackcloth and ashes. And that

¹ v. 14.

² v. 18-24.

³ v. iii.

CHAP.
VII.

He might foreshow that He was to suffer for them, hear then how He appointed it. Take, says He, two goats, fair and alike, and offer them, and let the high priest take one of them for a burnt offering. And what must be done with the other? Let it, says He, be accursed. Consider how exactly this appears to have been a type of Jesus. . . . And why was that which was accursed crowned? Because they shall see Christ in that day having a scarlet garment about his body. . . . When they shall see (our Saviour) hereafter coming (in the clouds of heaven) . . . *He shall be then like to what He was on earth.*¹ It follows from this and other passages, that unlike the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, the writer regards the apparent humanity of Christ during His days in the flesh as a mere apparition. If he calls Him 'not the Son of Man,' and not the Son of David, 'but the Son of God made manifest *in a type and in the flesh,*'² this seems to mean his apparition in the veil of the flesh, which had been hardened against suffering.³ In like manner the red heifer is shown to have been another type of Christ,⁴ and the prophecy about the voice in the wilderness is referred to Him, though not the passage in Micah referring to the ruler in Israel, who should come forth from Bethlehem. It is as if the writer had known nothing reliable about the birth of Jesus in that city.

Although 'the circumcision of which God spake was not of the flesh,' yet 'Abraham, who was the first that brought in circumcision, looked forward in the spirit to Jesus circumcised;' but he did so because he had received 'the mystery of three letters.' 'For the Scripture says that Abraham circumcised three hundred and eighteen men of his household. . . the numeral letters of ten and eight are I. H., and these denote Jesus. And because the cross was that *by which we were to find grace,* therefore he adds three hundred, the note of which is T,

¹ vi. 2-12.² xi. 12.³ v. 3.⁴ vii.

the figure of his cross.'¹ Then speaking of the creation in six days, the writer says: 'The meaning of it is this, that in six thousand years the Lord will bring all things to end, for with Him one day is as one thousand years.' Then follows a dissertation, the purpose of which is to show that the commands of Moses, concerning clean and unclean beasts, were all designed for a spiritual signification. Nor does the writer hesitate, from the palpably erroneous passage in Leviticus,² where the eating of the hare is forbidden 'because he cheweth the cud,' to deduct the injunction for those of his day: 'Thou shalt not be an adulterer, nor liken thyself to such persons; for the hare every year multiplies the places of its conception, and as many years as it lives so many it has.'³ The cross, and he 'that was to be crucified upon it,' are shown to have been predicted by a prophecy contained in one of the apocryphal books,⁴ and which is not quoted as we possess it. 'When the tree that is fallen shall rise, and when blood shall fall down from the tree.'⁵ The cross of Christ is shown to have been twice symbolised by Moses. First, when 'the holy Spirit put it into the heart of Moses to represent both the sign of the cross and of him that was to suffer,' when he 'standing up high above all, . . . stretched forth his arms, and so Israel again conquered; but no sooner did he let down his hands, but they were again slain. And why so? To the end they might know that except they trust in him they cannot be saved.'⁶ 'Moses makes a type of Jesus, to show that he was to die, and then that he, whom they thought to be dead, was to give life to others.'⁷ For although Moses had forbidden the Israelites to make unto themselves any image 'to be their God,' yet he 'did so himself that he might represent to them the figure of the Lord Jesus; for he made a brazen serpent, and set it up on high, and called the people

¹ viii. 11-13. Even Clement of Alexandria sanctions this mystical interpretation of the above quoted passages in Genesis (Str. vi. 11, 656; comp. Cot.).

² xi. 6.

³ ix. 7.

⁴ 2 Esd. v. 5.

⁵ xi. 2.

⁶ xi. 3-6.

⁷ xi. 7.

CHAP.
VII.

together by a proclamation,' and the same entreated him that he would *make an atonement for them*, and pray that they might be healed. Then Moses spake unto them saying: 'When any one among you shall be bitten, let him come unto the serpent that is set upon the pole, and *let him assuredly trust in him that though he be dead, yet He is able to give life*, and presently he shall be saved, and so they did. See, therefore, how here also you have in this *the glory* of Jesus, and that in *Him* and to *Him* are all things.'¹ The writer then shows that David in the spirit called Christ 'Lord,' for the purpose of manifesting 'the glory of Jesus' as 'the Son of God,' and '*not the Son of Man*.'² He continues: 'But because it might hereafter be said that Christ was the son of David, therefore David, fearing and well knowing the errors of the wicked, saith, the Lord said unto my Lord, sit thou on my right hand until I make thine enemies thy footstool.'³ We shall later point out, that the Gospels after Matthew, after Luke, after Mark, and after John, respectively show that the view of Jesus as the Son of David, although clearly taught by Paul, and implied by the genealogies, was gradually discarded as a conception of the blind Jews. Here it is necessary to remark in what manner the writer supports his assertion that Christ is not the Son of Man. Having stated that 'the Father did manifest all things concerning his Son Jesus in Jesus the Son of Nun,' he adds that, 'the Lord said: Forasmuch as Jesus the Son of God shall in the last days cut off by the roots all the house of Amalek.'⁴ In the same chapter, and likewise for the purpose of proving that Christ was not the Son of Man, he introduces the prophecy in Isaiah,⁵ addressed to Cyrus as God's Anointed (or Christ) by the following words: 'The Lord said unto Christ my Lord,' which are evidently falsified from the original text in the Septuagint, where we read, 'The Lord said unto my Christ Cyrus.'⁶

¹ xi. 9-11; comp. Rom. xi. 36.² xi. 11-13.³ xi. 13.⁴ xi. 12; comp. Ex. xvii. 14. ⁵ xlv. 1. ⁶ 'Κύριος' changed into 'Κυρίος.'

The Sabbath is not to be observed until 'we shall be able to sanctify it, being ourselves first made holy,' and this will be only in the world to come. Here again an uncanonical prophecy is quoted; 'Thou shalt sanctify it with clean hands and a pure heart.'¹ Referring to Isaiah's condemnation of the Jewish new-moons and sabbaths, he interprets the same to mean, that only those sabbaths are acceptable to God which he has made; when resting from all things he will begin 'the eighth day, that is, the beginning of the other world, for which cause we observe the eighth day with gladness, in which Jesus rose from the dead, and, having manifested himself to his disciples, ascended into heaven.'²

Now follows a dissertation on the temple service of the Jews, of 'these miserable men,' who, 'being deceived, have put their trust in the house and not in God himself, who made them, as it were, the habitation of God. For much after the same manner as the Gentiles they consecrated him in the temple.'³ Having alluded to the destruction of Jerusalem, as to an event which had lately taken place, and wishing to prove that the same had been foretold, instead of quoting the literally fulfilled prophecy of Micah,⁴ the writer again draws from an apocryphal source: 'for the Scripture saith, and it shall come to pass in the last days, that the Lord will deliver up the sheep of his pasture and their fold and their tower to destruction; and it is come to pass as the Lord hath spoken.'⁵ He then continues: 'Let us enquire, therefore, whether there be any temple of God? Yes, there is, and that there where himself declares that he would both make and perfect it. For it is written: and it shall be that as soon as the week shall be completed, the temple of the Lord shall be gloriously built in the name of the Lord.' Having shown that this temple is the renewed habitation of our heart, he writes: 'Therefore God truly dwells in

¹ xiii. 7, 8; comp. Ex. xx. 8; Deut. v. 12.² xiii. 9, 10.³ xiii. 11, 12.⁴ iii. 12.⁵ xiii. 15.

CHAP.
VII.

our house, that is, in us, . . . he opens . . . to us who were in bondage of death the gate of our temple, that is the mouth of wisdom, having given repentance unto us, and by this means has brought us to be an incorruptible temple.¹ The way that leads to this new birth is 'the way of light,' of which 'the angels of God' are 'leaders,' and the writer identifies this new way with 'the Lord from everlasting to everlasting,' whilst the opposite way, 'the way of darkness,' is the prince of the time of unrighteousness.²

Satan has opposed Christ from the beginning; and this opposition of Antichrist has not been completely put down by the death of Christ. The evil angel who inspired the Jews to explain everything literally and carnally, will once more exercise his anti-Christian influence on mankind. But Christ's second spiritual coming to judge 'the quick and the dead' will for ever destroy the power of 'the adversary of this present world.'³ 'For the consummation of sin is come, as it is written, as the prophet Daniel says: And for this end the Lord hath shortened the times and the days, that his beloved might hasten his coming to his inheritance.'⁴

The second coming of Christ, at the expiration of the six thousand years, will usher in the millennial rest, typified by the Creator's rest on the seventh day. This beginning of the unopposed rule of Christ upon earth was then expected, 'since the last times' had commenced.⁵ And at the end of the seven thousand years 'the eighth day' or eighth millennium, was to be the beginning of the other world.⁶

Conclu-
sion.

From these extracts we may derive the following conclusions:

The writer of the Epistle, wrongly attributed to Bar-

¹ xii. 18 f. ² xiv. 3-5; xv. 1. ³ ii. 1. ⁴ iii. 4. ⁵ iii. 10.

⁶ It is a remarkable coincidence, that in the Septuagint God is shown to have created the world in eight days. For the seven thousand years and the Millennium see the chapter on 'Chronology.'

nabas, is intimately acquainted with the principles of secret, hidden, apocryphal, or gnostic tradition, of which Alexandria and Tarsus formed the two great centres. We have seen that the Apocrypha in the Septuagint¹ are the most ancient authentic exponent of the same, whilst the book of Enoch and the writings of Philo mark its latest pre-Christian development in Palestine and in Egypt. We have likewise pointed out that the Epistles of Paul, the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the Epistle of Barnabas, mark the principal phases of the post-Christian development of this secret tradition. What Christ had said to a few individuals in private Paul had proclaimed to the world, and by so doing had developed and applied the doctrine of Christ in such a manner as seemed to him best suited to the overcoming of Jewish prejudices, and the laying aside of antiquated rites.

The writer addresses a Christian church, which although instructed in the principles of the 'gnosis' is in danger of falling into the nets of Judaism, or at least it has not completely thrown off such unnecessary yoke. According to this deeper and more speculative knowledge, which the writer wishes to see preserved and developed, Christianity is something essentially new, because the revelation of what was more or less hidden in and by the Mosaic religion. The types and allegories contained in the so-called law of Moses, and which point to Christ, could never have been understood by the Jews, since the Mosaic law had the tendency of rendering 'of none effect' the original covenant made with Abraham. Nor could the new and all-important doctrines contained in the apocryphal writings, particularly the one about the resurrection, be fully understood, till the coming of Him to whom they pointed, that is till the Divine Spirit or Word had been supernaturally manifested, which was in the beginning

¹ The writer evidently refers to apocryphal writings when he states: 'Now for what concerns the things that are written about Him (Christ), some belong to the people of the Jews, and some to us' (iv. 2).

CHAP.
VII.

with God, and was God. Christianity is therefore something essentially new. The so-called covenant of the Jews is not the covenant of the Christians, who are called to fulfil the promises which God made to Abraham. The members of this Church are to recollect that they as well as the writer belong to that 'holy people' which has been 'saved' out of the darkness of Judaism into the 'light of the Gentiles.' Therefore Paul's doctrine about the two covenants, which the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews has accepted, is here directly opposed.

Again, although accepting generally the principles of Paul's doctrine, the writer is not satisfied with the merely spiritual pre-existence of Christ, which the Apostle had regarded as a natural consequence of the Lord's identity with the Spirit of God, whose perfect incarnation in the reality of human flesh he was. The writer claims for Christ a personal existence before the days of His flesh. As a disciple, and probably as a contemporary, if not fellow-citizen of Philo, the writer wishes to apply to Christ the apocryphal doctrine of the Divine Word in its non-apocryphal and Philonian development. We have seen, that according to one of the many contradictory speculations contained in Philo's writings, the Divine 'Word,' as the aboriginal image of God, and the archetype of rational creatures, is distinguished from the Creator *above* the world, and from the Divine Spirit *in* the world. The Word, as the 'incorporeal man,' sits for ever by the throne of God, and cannot become incarnate. The Divine incarnations, which are to raise mankind to the first created type of all rational creatures, to the first-born and most perfect image of God, are effected through the medium, not of the Word, but of the Spirit of God. By this Divine operation in fallen man, who was originally created 'in the image of God,' and by man's free obedience, the latter may be so perfected in the likeness of God's aboriginal image and pattern, that the Divine Word at the right of God's throne will have ceased to be an idea only,

an incorporeal man immutably dwelling in heaven. It is thus that Philo's ideal 'second God' can become a reality. CHAP.
VII.

Wishing to apply to Christ the so-developed doctrine about the Divine Word, the writer of the Epistle of Barnabas is led to insist on the personal pre-existence of the Lord. He tries to establish the orthodoxy of this doctrine by freely quoting and freely interpreting what he conceives to be Messianic prophecies; and this not only from the Alexandrian canon but also from such apocryphal writings as did not form part of the same. The eternal Christ, the Creator of the universe, and who took part in the first creation of man, inspired His prophets, gave the laws, and appointed the rituals, knowing that He Himself would have one day to offer up His body for the sins of the world. Accordingly David was inspired by the heavenly Christ to call Him 'Lord,' and this for the purpose that when Christ should 'be made manifest in the flesh and . . . dwell in us,'¹ it might not be said 'according to the error of the wicked,' that Christ was 'the son of David.' 'When they shall see (our Saviour) hereafter coming (in the clouds of heaven) . . . *He shall be then like what He was on earth,*'² that is 'not the Son of Man, but the Son of God, *made manifest in a type* and in the flesh,'³ which had been 'hardened against sufferings.'⁴ The manifestation in the type of the flesh is therefore nothing more than the apparition in the veil of the flesh. The reality of Christ's humanity is denied, though in a cautious form. One of Christ's reasons for determining to come in the flesh, which, as it was necessary, he was content to do at God's command, was that he might thereby bring to a culminating point the wickedness and blindness of the Jews, who would not understand that the commandments of the law were always intended to be spiritually or ideologically explained.

This deeper and more perfect knowledge must no longer

¹ v. 17.

² vi. 2-12.

³ xi. 12.

⁴ v. 3.

CHAP.
VII.

be regarded as militating against the elementary principles of Christianity which were publicly taught by the twelve Apostles. Like the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews the writer of the Epistle of Barnabas urges a Christian community to leave behind the *elementary* doctrine of Christ and to press to the more perfect, to that which might be at least *derived* from his secret doctrine. But neither Paul, nor the writers of these Epistles, is *in a position* to declare, that this more perfect doctrine had been taught secretly by the Lord Himself. For as yet the beloved disciple had not divulged the great secret by the publication of his supplementary Gospel of Christ. The writer shows by his teaching and by his quotations from what he considers authoritative scriptures, that the Apocrypha of the Septuagint must, in his opinion, be placed on a par with the Scriptures translated from the Hebrew canon, and that the latter must be amended and interpreted in accordance with the more perfect doctrines of the Greek canon. He evidently was persuaded that the striking harmony between the gospel revealed by the risen son of God to Paul, and the new principles contained in the pre-Christian Apocrypha of the Alexandrian canon, have given a Divine sanction to the latter. These apocryphal writings must now be generally acknowledged as an essential part of inspired Scripture, and ought no longer to be excluded by the adherents of the Hebrew canon.¹

The writer also placed on a par with the Scriptures forming the Hebrew canon the sayings of Christ as written down by Matthew. This is now absolutely certain, since we know the complete Greek text of this Epistle. He introduces the all but literal citation of one of the Lord's sayings, which is *only* recorded in Matthew,² by the words 'it is written,'³ which in all other instances are by the writer made to refer to the Old Testament, including the Apocrypha. It is very remarkable that, although the

¹ Comp. iv. 2.

² xx. 16; xxii. 14.

³ iii. 17.

writer gives literally one of the Lord's sayings as contained in the Gospel after Luke, yet that he does not record these words as having been spoken by the Lord. It is as if he had not ventured to place the record of Luke, which, as it existed, must have been known to him, on a par with the original record of Matthew; though, in one instance, his Epistle contains words which are more in harmony with the version we find in the Gospel after Luke.¹ Nor is it less remarkable that all his quotations from and references to New Testament Scriptures seem to be derived from a source nearly identical with the Gospel after Matthew. The importance of this circumstance is all the greater, since he regards as authoritative Scripture the evangelical record to which he refers. If we bear in mind that almost every one of the numerous gospel quotations contained in the works of Justin Martyr are to be found in the Gospel after Matthew, though for the most part slightly modified, the fact gains in significance that, according to the most ancient Church-tradition on the origin of the gospels, the Apostle Matthew wrote down the sayings of the Lord. So *exclusively* was this record regarded as authoritative by the Jewish Christians, that Justin Martyr does not venture to cite even one of those numerous sayings of Christ which referred to apocryphal doctrines, and were therefore excluded from the first apostolic record, whilst they were recorded by the beloved disciple, and published at a late period in the Gospel after John.

The writer of the Epistle of Barnabas connects one of his gospel quotations, containing words of Christ, in such a manner with the election of the twelve Apostles, as plainly to show that he was not one of their disciples. Referring to Christ, he writes: 'And finally teaching the people of Israel, and doing many wonders and signs among them, he preached to them, and showed the exceeding great love which he bare towards them. And

¹ Luke vi. 30; comp Mat. v. 42.

CHAP.
VII

when he chose his apostles, which were afterwards to publish his gospel, he took men who had been very great sinners (or "the most lawless of men"), that thereby he might plainly show that he came not to call the righteous but sinners to repentance.¹ It is obvious that the writer has intentionally perverted the sense of the Lord's words, which He never addressed or referred to those whom He called the light of the world and the salt of the earth. The writer seems also, in another passage, to refer, though indirectly, to the Apostles, whom Paul calls 'the respected persons.'² He states that Christ 'came not to call any *with respect of persons*, but whomsoever the Spirit had prepared.'³ Whilst not referring to the Apostles as an authority, he at least indirectly includes them in his condemnation of everything that is Jewish, or in any way connected with the Sinaitic law. Even the twelve Apostles were shut up unto the faith which should afterwards be revealed.

We meet in this Epistle with no direct reference to the Gospel after Mark, which may have been written before that time, but which seems to have contained few if any sayings of Christ, except those which were derived from Matthew's record. Luke's gospel is indirectly referred to.⁴ John's gospel was clearly not then known, if written, nor does it seem to have transpired at this time that some of the most important sayings of Christ had been intentionally, because necessarily, suppressed by the Apostles.

That the writer should directly refer to the Epistle to the Hebrews is what we should expect from a probable member of the Alexandrian church, and contemporary of Apollos. He goes beyond this Epistle by denying the two covenants, and by insisting on the personal pre-existence of Christ. Unlike the writer of the above Epistle, he denies the reality of Christ's human nature, and

¹ iv. 10-12. Celsus, who in the second century wrote against the Christians, made use of this passage against the Apostles (Orig. c. Cel. i. 63).

² Gal. ii.

³ xiv. 15; comp. iii. 7.

⁴ Luke xxiv. 50; vi. 30.

he does so without naming any authority for his assertion. This is anti-apostolic doctrine.

CHAP.
VII.

We shall now point out how these heretical docetic doctrines, whose germs are contained in one of the Alexandrian Epistles we have now considered, were strenuously opposed by the Roman church, at the end of the first and in the beginning of the second century. If the suppression of the authentic record of the secret sayings of Christ led to anti-Christian doceticism in some of the churches, it led to anti-Christian Judaism in others. It was by the publication of the Gospel after John, that the foundation was laid of that peace which is consistent with truth, and which therefore will ever be the essential element of true Catholicity.

CHAPTER VIII.

ORIGIN OF THE ROMAN CHURCH.

INTRODUCTION—EPISTLE OF CLEMENT—SHEPHERD OF HERMAS—GNOSTICISM
AND DOCETICISM—IGNATIUS—IGNATIAN EPISTLES—POLYCARP—JUSTIN
MARTYR—MARCION.

'Awake thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light.'—Eph. v. 14.

CHAP.
VIII
Introduc-
tion.

THE pentecostal effusion of the Holy Ghost, on the anniversary of the promulgation of the Sinaitic law, had taken place in the presence of a motley multitude, among which there are recorded to have been 'strangers of Rome.'¹ Thus early Roman citizens were, by Divine operation, prepared for the teaching of the Spirit of God, who, by convincing the world of sin, righteousness, and judgment, was to lead the true followers of Christ into all truth. The earliest Christian church in Rome may have been originally composed of such Jews and Gentiles whose knowledge of Christianity was limited by Matthew's restricted record of the Lord's 'primitive' or elementary doctrine. The 'more perfect' principles of Christ's secret or hidden doctrine were probably entirely excluded from the sphere of this Church, till the first news of Paul's conversion and of his new gospel reached 'the eternal city.' From that time we may, perhaps, assume that the Church of Rome became a mixed church, no longer of Jews and

¹ Acts ii. 10.

Gentiles, but of elementary and more perfect, of Palestinian and of Paulinian Christians.

Paul's Epistle to the Romans, written about the year 54, or ten years before his probable martyrdom, might therefore be regarded as an apology of the more perfect doctrine revealed to him individually by the risen Saviour, and which constituted his 'other' Gospel. We have sufficient reasons for assuming that, on the whole, the reception of this Epistle was at first an unfavourable one; and that when, four years later, the Apostle came to Rome, he did not succeed to remove the prejudices which the majority among the members of that Church had formed against him. His own Epistle, and the account of his visit to Rome contained in the Acts, confirm this view. He writes to the members of the Jewish or Jewish-Christian church at Rome, that their 'faith is spoken of throughout the whole world.'¹ And the Acts record the fact, that by some members of this Church, who are here called 'the Jews,'² Paul's doctrine was regarded as a 'sect . . everywhere spoken against.'³ On the other hand, Paul met, on his arrival in Rome, some 'brethren,' probably some disciples of his, and these urged him to stay. Their appearance reassured him, a circumstance which shows that if the majority of the members of the Roman church had been of his way of thinking, he would have summoned *them* to his prison, instead of calling 'the chief of the Jews together.' Whether these chiefs were Jews or Jewish Christians matters not; they were not Paulinians, and they were influential enough even to prevent the Romans from liberating Paul, which the latter were quite prepared to do. Thus 'the Jews,' who 'spake against' this intended liberation of the Apostle were his real enemies.

We must bear in mind that Paul designates Peter, and those who had been sent to Antioch by James, as 'Jews;' that, at the time of Paul's imprisonment, as well as before

¹ i. 8.² Comp. Gal. ii. 13.³ Acts xxviii. 22.

CHAP.
VIII.

and after, the non-Paulinic Christians were very probably distinguished from the Paulinic Christians by the name of 'Jews,' or Jewish Christians, inasmuch as it was owing to Jewish or to Judaizing influences that the Lord's secret doctrine was not proclaimed, either to Jews or Gentiles, till Paul dug up the treasure which the Apostles in Palestine had been compelled to hide. The pentecostal effusion had certainly enabled those who had been apostles before Paul, to see the grace which had been given to the latter, and to tender him their hand of fellowship. But had the other Comforter, the Spirit of Truth, already led them into all truth? Had the day come when the doctrine of Divine Sonship was to be fully understood by them? ¹ The scene at Antioch ² sufficiently proves that the Apostles at Jerusalem, as a body, continued to cling to certain Jewish observances, which their leader declared to be essential to faith, whilst Paul as openly declared the contrary.³ They were still too carnally-minded to understand the mystery of spiritual birth, and of the spiritual kingdom.⁴ And the Jews, or, as we may assume, Jewish Christians at Rome, to whom Paul 'expounded and testified the kingdom of God,' seem to have been more or less in a similar state of carnal mind, and as little prepared to understand 'the mysteries of the kingdom,' as were the Jews in the days of our Lord. For Paul quoted in their presence, and applied to them, the very prophecy in Isaiah which Christ had declared as fulfilled by the Jews in His days.

But we will suppose that those who are in the Acts designated as 'Jews' were not Christians at all; that they were Jews in the literal sense of the word. Even in this case, it is perfectly clear that 'the brethren' who met and encouraged Paul, that the Christians at Rome, whether Jewish or Paulinic Christians, were like the Christians at Jerusalem, under the thraldom of the Jews,

¹ John xiv. 20. ² Gal. ii. ³ Jas. ii. 14 f.; Gal. ii. 16; Rom. xi. 6; &c

⁴ Acts i. 6.

the chiefs of whom would by the Romans be regarded as the rulers of the Christians. Thus Paul, being a Christian, was under the jurisdiction of 'the chief of the Jews,' who did not permit the Romans to liberate him. The same authority would by them be exercised over all the Christians in the Roman church, whom they would regard as members of a 'sect' everywhere 'spoken against.' Whether then we assume that the chief of the Jews at Rome were Israelites not yet converted to Christianity, or whether we regard them as the recognised leaders of a Christian church, which in the eyes of Paul was at the time under Judaising influences, in each case it is obvious that the effects of the pentecostal effusion of the Holy Ghost had not reached the 'beloved of God' that were in Rome, and who were '*called* to be saints.'¹ In the eyes of Paul they were not yet perfected as saints, that is, not yet sanctified by the unction from above, as were the Corinthians, who, although likewise '*called* to be saints,' were already '*sanctified* in Christ Jesus,'² and not merely '*called* of Jesus Christ.' Nevertheless, the '*faith*' of those to whom Paul addressed his chiefest Epistle was '*spoken of* throughout the whole world.' Whether it was a faith in the law, or in Christ, the fulfiller of the law; and in the latter case, whether it was a faith which still depended on the continued observance of the law, or one which stood fast in the liberty of Christ, cannot now be decided. It is therefore idle to conjecture whether Peter or any other of the Apostles at Jerusalem would have undergone a similar treatment, if at this time he or they had gone to Rome. One thing may be regarded as certain, and that is, that both Peter and Paul suffered martyrdom during the Neronic persecution about the year 64 A.C.

¹ Rom. i. 7.² 1 Cor. i. 2; Phil. i. 1; Col. i. 2.

The Epistle of Clement.

The martyrdom of Peter and Paul at Rome is referred to as a positive and a recent fact in an epistle written from 'the Church of God which is at Rome, to the Church of God which is at Corinth,' by 'Clement,' who has been identified by the unanimous testimony of the ancient church, from Origen and Jerome to Eusebius, with Paul's fellow-labourer Clement, mentioned in the Epistle to the Philippians.¹ According to Eusebius, Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth, in the end of the second century, wrote in his Epistle to the Romans that the Epistle of Clement, which Eusebius calls the 'great and wonderful Epistle,' 'universally received by all,'² was 'read in the churches even from the earliest times.'³ And the contemporary of Dionysius, Clement of Alexandria, calls the Roman Clement an 'apostle.'⁴ Nevertheless, it has been truly remarked by a very careful investigator that it is impossible to say whether Clement, the writer of this Epistle, was identical with the Bishop of Rome, who afterwards became so celebrated. 'The practice of supposing New-Testament-characters to be identical with persons who were afterwards known by the same names was too frequent, and the name Clemens too common for us to be able to pronounce on the question.'⁵

Although it be admitted as possible that the name 'Clement' was ingrafted on the Epistle by a later tradition; and although it cannot be positively asserted that its author was a direct disciple of the Apostle's, yet the writer of this Epistle must be at least acknowledged as a leading member of the Roman church at the end of the first century.⁶ The contents of this remarkable Epistle must be minutely considered, since they throw

¹ Phil. iv. 3. ² H. E. iii. 16; iii. 38. ³ iv. 23. ⁴ Strom. iv. 17.

⁵ Dean Alford in Smith's Dictionary, p. 337.

⁶ See Hilgenfeld's 'Apostolische Väter,' p. 92 f.

much light on the doctrine and organisation of the early church at Rome.¹ CHAP.
VIII.

‘Brethren, the sudden and unexpected dangers and calamities that have fallen upon us have, we fear, made us the more slow in our consideration of those things which you enquired of us; as also of that wicked and detestable sedition, so unbecoming the elect of God, which a few heady and self-willed men have fomented to such a degree of madness that your venerable and renowned name, so worthy of all men to be beloved, is greatly blasphemed thereby.’² ‘They who were of no renown lifted up themselves against the honourable; those of no reputation against those who were in respect; the foolish against the wise; the young men against the aged. Therefore righteousness and peace are departed from you, because every one hath forsaken the fear of God, and is grown blind in his faith, nor walketh by the rule of God’s commandments, nor liveth as is fitting in Christ. But every one follows his own wicked lusts, having taken up an unjust and wicked envy, by which death first entered into the world.’³ ‘It is therefore just, and righteous, men and brethren, that we should become obedient unto God rather than follow such as through pride and sedition have made themselves the leaders of a detestable emulation. For it is not an ordinary harm that we shall do (to) ourselves; but rather very great danger that we shall run, if we shall rashly give up ourselves to the wills of men who promote strife and seditions, to turn us aside from that which is fitting;’⁴ . . . who have said: With our tongues will we prevail; our lips are our own; who is Lord over us?⁵

‘Let us, therefore, choose to offend a few foolish and inconsiderate men, lifted up and glorying in their own pride rather than God.’⁶ ‘Our Apostles knew by our

¹ The imperfect but beautiful translation of the Alexandrian MS. is by Archbishop Wake. Compare the improvements made by Chevallier, second edition, 1851.

² i. 2, 3.

³ ii. 3-5.

⁴ vii. 7, 8.

⁵ vii. 17.

⁶ x. 5.

CHAP.
VIII.

Lord Jesus Christ that there should contentions arise *upon account of the ministry*. And, therefore, having a perfect foreknowledge of this, they appointed persons, as we have before said, and then gave directions how, when they should die, other chosen and approved men should succeed in their ministry. Wherefore, we cannot think that those may justly be thrown out of their ministry, who were either appointed by them, or afterwards chosen by other eminent men, with the consent of the whole Church, and who have with all lowliness and innocency ministered to the flock of Christ in peace and without self-interest, and were for a long time commended by all. For it would be no small sin in us, should we cast off those from their ministry, who holily and without blame fulfil the duties of it. Blessed are those priests who, having finished their course before these times, have obtained a fruitful and perfect dissolution; for they have no fear lest any one should turn them out of the place which is now appointed for them. But we see how you have put out some, who lived reputably among you, from the ministry, which, by their innocence, they had adorned.¹ ‘Ye are contentious brethren, and zealous for things that pertain not unto salvation.’²

‘Wherefore are there strifes and anger and divisions and *schisms* and wars among us? Have we not all one God and one Christ? Is not one spirit of grace poured out upon us all? Have we not one calling in Christ? Why then do we rent and tear in pieces the members of Christ, and raise *seditions* against our own body? And are come to such a height of madness as to forget that we were members one of another? Remember the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, for he said: “Woe to that man (by whom offences come); it were better for him that he had never been born, than that he should have offended one of my elect. It were better for him that a mill-stone should be tied about his neck, and he should be cast into

¹ xix. 16-21.² xx. 1.

the sea, than that he should offend one of my little ones."

CHAP.
VIII.

Your schism has *perverted* many, has discouraged many, it has caused diffidence in many, and grief in us all. And yet *your sedition* continues still. Take the Epistle of the blessed Paul the Apostle into your hands. What was it that he wrote to you at his first preaching the gospel among you? Verily he did by the spirit admonish you concerning himself and Cephas and Apollos, because that *even then* ye had begun to fall into parties and factions among yourselves. Nevertheless your partiality then led you into a much less sin; forasmuch as you placed your affections upon Apostles, men of eminent reputation in the Church, and upon another, who was greatly tried and approved by them. But consider, we pray you, who are they who have now led you astray and lessened the reputation of that brotherly love that was so eminent among you? It is a shame, my beloved, yea, a very great shame, and unworthy of your Christian profession, to hear that the most firm and ancient Church of the Corinthians should, by one or two persons, be led into a sedition against its priests. And this report is come, not only to us, but to those also that differ from us. Insomuch that the name of the Lord is blasphemed through your folly, and even ye yourselves are brought into danger by it. Let us therefore with all haste put an end to this sedition; and let us fall down before the Lord, and beseech him with tears, that he would be favourably reconciled to us, and restore us again to a seemly and holy course of brotherly love.¹

‘Not to insist upon ancient examples, let us come to those worthies that have been nearest to us, and take the brave examples of our own age. Through zeal and envy the most faithful and righteous pillars of the Church have been persecuted, even to the most grievous deaths. Let us set before our eyes the holy Apostles. Peter by unjust envy underwent, not one or two, but many sufferings,

The
Remedy
or Rule
of Faith.

¹ xx. 14-27.

CHAP.
VIII.

till at last, being martyred, he went to the place of glory that was due unto him. For the same cause did Paul in like manner receive the reward of his patience. Seven times he was in bonds, he was whipped, was stoned; he preached both in the East and in the West, leaving behind him the glorious report of his faith. And so having taught the whole world righteousness, and for that end travelled even to the utmost bounds of the West, he at last suffered martyrdom by the command of the governors. And departed out of the world, and went unto his holy place; being become a most eminent pattern of patience unto all ages. To these holy Apostles were joined a very great number of others, who having through envy undergone in like manner many pains and torments, have left a glorious example to us.¹
 'Wherefore let us lay aside all vain and empty cares, and let us come up to the glorious and venerable rule of our high calling. Let us consider what is good and acceptable and well-pleasing in the sight of Him that made us. Let us look steadfastly to the blood of Christ, and see how precious his blood is in the sight of God; which being shed for our salvation, has obtained the grace of repentance for all the world. Let us search into all ages that have gone before us, and let us learn, that our Lord has in every one of them still given place for repentance to all such as would turn to Him.'²

'Above all, remembering the words of the Lord Jesus, which he spake, teaching us mercy and long-suffering. For thus he saith: Be ye merciful and ye shall obtain mercy; forgive and ye shall be forgiven; as ye do so shall it be done unto you; as ye give so shall it be given unto you; as ye judge so shall ye be judged; as ye are kind to others so shall God be kind to you; with what measure ye mete, with the same shall it be measured to you again. By this command and by these rules let us establish ourselves, that so we may always walk obe-

¹ iii. 10-16.² iv. 3-6.

diently to His holy words, being humbly minded. For so says the holy Scripture : Upon whom shall I look, even upon him that is poor and of a contrite spirit, and that trembles at my word.'¹

CHAP.
VIII.

' Having therefore so many and such great and glorious examples, let us return to that peace which was the mark that from the beginning was set before us. Let us look up to the Father and Creator of the whole world ; and let us hold fast to His glorious and exceeding gifts and benefits of peace.'² ' Let us honour those who are set over us, let us respect the aged (presbyters) that are amongst us ; and let us instruct the younger men in the discipline and fear of the Lord. . . . Let your children be bred up in the instruction of Christ, and especially let them learn, how great a power humility has with God ; how much a pure and holy charity avails with Him ; how excellent and great His fear is, and how it will save all such as turn to Him with holiness in a pure mind. For He is the searcher of the thoughts and counsels of the heart ; whose breath is in us, and when He pleases He can take it from us.'³

' It will behove us to take care, that looking into the depths of the Divine knowledge (gnosis), we do all things in order, whatsoever our Lord has commanded us to do. And particularly that we perform our offerings and service to God at their appointed seasons ; for these He has commanded to be done, not rashly and disorderly, but at certain determinate times and hours. And therefore He has ordained by His supreme will and authority, both where and by what persons they are to be performed ; that so all things being piously done unto all well-pleasing, they may be acceptable unto Him. They therefore who make their offerings at the appointed seasons are happy and accepted, that because obeying the commandments of the Lord they are free from sin. And the same care must be had of the persons that

¹ vii. 3-6 ; comp. Is. lxi. 2.

² ix. 2, 3.

³ x. 7, 12-14.

CHAP.
VIII.

minister unto Him. For the chief priest has his proper services, and to the priests their proper place is appointed, and to the Levites appertain their proper ministries, and the layman is confined within the bounds of what is commanded to laymen. Let every one of you therefore, brethren, bless God in his proper station with a good conscience, and with all gravity, not exceeding the rule of his service that is appointed to him. The daily sacrifices are not offered everywhere, nor the peace offerings, nor the sacrifices appointed for sins and transgressions, but only at Jerusalem; nor in any place there, but only at the altar before the temple; that which is offered being first diligently examined by the high priest and the other minister we before mentioned. They therefore who do anything which is not agreeable to His will are punished with death. Consider, brethren, that by how much the better knowledge ("gnosis") God has vouchsafed unto us, by so much the greater danger are we exposed to.'¹

'Look into the Holy Scriptures, which are the true words of the Holy Ghost. Ye know that there is nothing unjust or counterfeit written in them.'² 'He that hath the love that is in Christ, let him keep the commandments of Christ.'³ 'Ye know, beloved, ye know full well the Holy Scriptures, and have thoroughly searched into the oracles of God; call them therefore to your remembrance.'⁴

The
Creator.

'Elect sanctified by the will of God, through Jesus Christ our Lord: grace and peace from the Almighty God, by Jesus Christ, be multiplied unto you.'⁵ 'All these has the great Creator and Lord of all ("the Father") commanded to observe peace and concord, being good to all.'⁶ 'Our all merciful and beneficent Father hath bowels of compassion towards them that fear Him, and kindly and lovingly bestows his graces upon all such as

¹ xviii. 13-22.

⁴ xxii. 10.

² xx. 2.

⁵ i. 1.

³ xxi. 1

⁶ ix. 3, 17.

come to Him with a simple mind.’¹ ‘When the Most High divided the nations . . . His people Jacob became the portion of the Lord, and Israel the lot of His inheritance.’² ‘Even the Creator and Lord of all things Himself rejoices in His own works.’³ ‘And above all He with His holy and pure hands formed man, the most excellent, and as to his understanding truly the greatest of all other creatures, the character of His own image. For so God says: Let us make man in our image, after our own likeness; so God created man, male and female created He them. And having thus finished all these things, He commended all that He had made, and blessed them, and said increase and multiply.’⁴ ‘He that made us and formed us, and brought us into His own world; having presented us with His benefits, even before we were born; wherefore having received all these things from Him, we ought in everything to give thanks unto Him, to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.’⁵

‘The sceptre of the majesty of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, came not in the show of pride and arrogance, though He could have done so, but with humility, as the Holy Ghost had before spoken concerning Him.’⁶ ‘Ye see, beloved, what the *pattern* is that has been given to us. For if the Lord thus humbled Himself, what should we do, who are brought by Him under the yoke of His grace.’⁷ ‘The Most High . . . saith: Behold the Lord taketh unto Himself a nation out of the midst of the nations, as a man taketh the first-fruits of his flour, and the Most Holy shall come out of that nation. Wherefore we being *a part of the Holy One*, let us do all those things that pertain unto holiness.’⁸ ‘Let us reverence our Lord Jesus Christ, whose blood was given for us.’⁹ ‘From him (Jacob) came our Lord Jesus Christ *according to the flesh*.’¹⁰

The person
of Christ.

¹ xi. 9.

⁴ xv. 7-9.

⁶ viii. 1.

⁹ x. 6.

² xiii. 7.

⁵ xvii. 40, 41; comp. xix. 15.

⁷ viii. 16.

¹⁰ xiv. 16.

³ xv. 2.

⁸ xiii. 8; xiv. 1.

CHAP.
VIII.

‘This is the way, beloved, in which we may find our Saviour, even Jesus Christ, the high priest of all our offerings, the defender and helper of all our weakness. By Him we look up to the highest heavens, and behold, as in a glass, His spotless and most excellent visage. . . . By Him are the eyes of our hearts opened; by Him our foolish and darkened understanding rejoiceth to behold His wonderful light. By Him would God have us to taste the knowledge of immortality, who being the brightness of His glory, is by so much greater than the angels, as He has by inheritance obtained a more excellent name than they. For so it is written: Who maketh His angels, spirits, and His ministers a flame of fire. But to His Son thus saith the Lord: Thou art my Son, to-day have I begotten thee. Ask of me, and I will give thee the heathen for thy inheritance, and the utmost parts of the earth for thy possession. And again He saith unto Him: Sit thou on my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool.’¹

‘The Apostles have preached to us from the Lord Jesus Christ: Jesus Christ from God. Christ therefore was sent by God, the Apostles by Christ; so both were orderly sent according to the will of God. For having received the command, and being thoroughly assured by the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, and convinced by the Word of God, with the fulness of the Holy Spirit, they went abroad publishing that the kingdom of God was at hand. And thus preaching through countries and cities, they appointed the first-fruits of their conversion to be bishops and ministers over such as should afterwards believe, having first proved them by the spirit.’² ‘Now God the inspector of all things, the Father of spirits, and the Lord of all flesh, who hath chosen our Lord Jesus Christ, and us by Him, to be His peculiar people; grant to every soul of man that calleth upon His glorious and holy name, faith, fear, peace, long-suffering, patience,

¹ xvii. 15-22.

² xix. 1-4.

CHAP.
VIII.

their prayers.’¹ ‘Let us put on concord, being humble . . . and justified by our actions, not our words.’² ‘Let the witness of our good actions be given to us of others, as it was given to the holy men that went before us.’³ ‘They were all . . . glorified, not for their own sake, or for their own works, or for the righteousness that they themselves wrought, but through His will. And we also, being called by the same will in Christ Jesus, are not justified by ourselves, neither by our own wisdom, or knowledge, or piety, or the works which we have done, in the holiness of our hearts; but by that faith by which God Almighty has justified all men from the beginning: to whom be glory for ever and ever, Amen.’⁴ ‘All righteous men have been adorned with good works; wherefore even the Lord Himself, having adorned Himself with His works, rejoiced. Having therefore such an example, let us without delay fulfil His will, and with all our strength work the work of righteousness.’⁵ ‘Let us fall down before the Lord, and beseech Him with tears, that He would be favourably reconciled to us, and restore us again to a seemly and holy course of brotherly love. For this is the gate of righteousness, opening unto life; as it is written: Open unto me the gates of righteousness; I will go in unto them and will praise the Lord. This is the gate of the Lord, the righteous shall enter into it. Although therefore many gates are opened, yet this gate of righteousness is that gate in Christ, at which blessed are they that enter in and direct their way in holiness and righteousness, doing all things without disorder.’⁶

‘Let us consider, beloved, how the Lord does continually show us that there shall be a future resurrection, of which He has made our Lord Jesus Christ the first fruits, raising Him from the dead. Let us contemplate, beloved, the resurrection that is continually made before

¹ xi. 1-5.² xiv. 5.³ xiv. 8.⁴ xiv. 19-21.⁵ xv. 10-11.⁶ xx. 27-29.

our eyes. Day and night manifest a resurrection to us. The night lies down, and the day arises; again the day departs, and the night comes on. Let us behold the fruits of the earth. Every one sees how the seed is sown. The sower goes forth, and casts it upon the earth, and the seed which when it was sown fell upon the earth dry and naked, in time dissolves. And from the dissolution, the great power of the providence of the Lord raises it again; and of one seed many arise and bring forth fruit.¹ 'And shall we then think it to be any very great and strange thing for the Lord of all to raise up those that religiously serve Him in the assurance of a good faith, when even by a bird He shows us the greatness of His power to fulfil His promise? For He says in a certain place: Thou shalt raise me up, and I shall confess unto Thee. And again: I laid me down and slept, and awaked, because Thou art with me. And again, Job says: Thou shalt raise up this flesh of mine, that has suffered all these things.'²

CHAP.
VIII.

'Of a truth, yet a little while and His (God's) will shall suddenly be accomplished. The Holy Scripture itself bearing witness that He shall quickly (suddenly) come and not tarry, and that the Lord shall suddenly come to His temple, even the holy ones whom ye look for.'³ And thus he foretells us: 'Behold the Lord cometh, and his reward is with Him, even before his face, to render to every one according to his work.'⁴

These extracts seem to support the following conclusions:

Conclu-
sion.

The sedition and schism which had continued for some time when the Epistle was written,⁵ had been caused by one or two self-willed men, who though of no renown or reputation, had opposed 'those who were in respect.' The latter words give us at once an explanation of the real character of the schism in the Corinthian church.

¹ xi. 16-20.

² xii. 6-9.

³ xi. 14, 15.

⁴ xvi. 3.

⁵ i. 2.

CHAP.
VIII.

These are the very words which Paul applies to the twelve Apostles. He calls them those 'which were of reputation,' or 'the respected persons;' and this latter sense is evidently the one he had in view when he wrote: 'But of (or "as to") the respected persons, whatsoever they were, it maketh no matter to me; before God no respect of persons is of any avail, for the respected persons have not communicated to me anything.'¹ It seems highly probable, on the whole, that the writer of the Roman Epistle intended to allude to Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, since in a later passage he calls 'the holy Apostles,' 'the most faithful and righteous *pillars of the church*,' whilst Paul admits that among the Apostles at Jerusalem, James, Cephas and John were regarded as 'pillars.'²

We do not know which of the twelve Apostles went to Corinth, but Paul's allusion to the party of Peter in this city would lead us to assume that he may possibly have been there himself. It is Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, who in a discourse addressed to the Romans and transmitted by Eusebius,³ positively asserts that Peter and Paul were the planters of the Corinthian church. 'Thus likewise you, by means of this admonition, have mingled the flourishing seed that had been planted by Peter and Paul at Rome and Corinth.' Dionysius adds, that he himself had been 'planted . . . at Corinth' by Peter and Paul; and the writer of this Epistle alludes to similar installations in this city by the Apostles, who had appointed as their successors approved men to succeed them, some of which had been wrongfully put out of the ministry by the contentious Corinthians.

The Lord Jesus had foretold to the Apostles that contentions would arise, and had warned them through whom they should come. Still even during the lifetime of Paul, as the writer reminds the Corinthians, they had '*begun*' to fall into parties and factions. At

¹ Gal. ii. 2, 6.² Gal. ii. 9.³ H. E. ii. 25. .

that time, however, this 'schism' was 'a much less sin,' inasmuch as even Apollos was 'greatly tried and approved' by the Apostles. What had then begun was now continued under circumstances far more grave to the Corinthians and to the Church at large. The aggravating circumstances under which this successful and long enduring schism had sprung up seem to have been the following. One or two unknown and self-willed men had been the direct cause of it, and it had led to the expulsion of ministers in their Church, who had been appointed with 'the consent of the whole Church,' and 'were for a long time commended by all.' We are not told expressly that these 'leaders of a detestable emulation' were false teachers, but Clement writes that the schism to which they had given rise had 'perverted many.' Moreover Hegesippus informs us, that in the time of Trajan, that is, *at the very time* when this Epistle was written, 'the conspiracy of impious error began' through the fraud and delusion of '*false teachers*,' who even at Jerusalem attempted to set up a bishop of their own party. And the earlier Epistle of Barnabas shows that '*teachers*' or *docetæ* of non-apostolic and even partly anti-Christian doctrines, were able to promulgate freely their tenets. We are then at liberty to assume that the second Corinthian schism, like the former one, was based on dogmatical differences. The garbled testimony of Hegesippus as transmitted by Eusebius, must be interpreted with caution. The latter omits to tell us what the 'observations' were which Hegesippus made 'on the Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians,' and which would have been of the utmost value; but he quotes the following passage: 'And the Church of Corinth continued in the true faith until Primus was bishop there, with whom I had familiar conversation, as I passed many days at Corinth when I was on the point of sailing to Rome, during which time also we were mutually refreshed in the true doctrine.'¹

¹ H. E. iv. 22.

CHAP.
VIII.

This journey was undertaken when Anicetus¹ was at the head of the Roman presbytery. Eusebius informs us that Hegesippus recorded in his commentaries, having on this journey 'conversed with most of the bishops,' and 'received the same doctrine from all.'² We may perhaps assume that in the observations which he made on the Epistle of Clement, Hegesippus may have alluded to the schism to which the former refers. Anyhow we may gather from the above statement that the schism in the Corinthian church to which Clement refers, did not continue long, and that the Corinthians having returned to the plain apostolic tradition, remained 'in the true faith' till after the middle of the second century.

The schism which took place during Paul's lifetime in the Corinthian church cannot then have been of long duration, since Clement states that those who had been by the Apostles or other eminent men appointed as ministers in 'the most firm and most ancient Church of the Corinthians,' had been 'for a long time commended *by all*.' And the account which he gives of the state of the Corinthian church previous to its having fallen into schism and open sedition fully confirms this view. He praises 'the firmness' of their faith, their 'fruitfulness in all good works,' the 'temper and moderation' of their 'religion in Christ,' their happiness in their 'perfect and certain knowledge of the Gospel,' their walking 'according to the laws of God,' their 'desiring rather to be subject than to govern,' content with the portion God had dispensed to them, 'and hearkening diligently to His word;' in consequence of which 'a firm, and blessed, and profitable peace' was given unto them, 'a plentiful effusion of the Holy Ghost' was upon them all, unto whom 'all sedition and schism was an abomination.'

The 'presbyters and deacons' of the Corinthian church may very probably have put a restraint on the preaching of such doctrines which had begun even in the apostolic

¹ 157-161.

² H. E. iv. 22.

age to affect the perfect harmony in that Church. If Apollos even was by some supposed to have indirectly sanctioned certain of the peculiar doctrines of the Alexandrian party at Corinth, then against such erroneous and dangerous assumptions, against such men as the author of the Epistle to Barnabas, would the ministers have especially to guard their flock. Against such exclusion and restraint the disturbers of the peace seem to have protested when they said, 'With our tongue will we prevail, our lips are our own. Who is Lord over us?' We can therefore understand that Clement would consider it his duty cautiously but earnestly to warn the Corinthians against all science falsely so called. 'It will behove us to take care, that looking *into the depths* of the Divine knowledge (gnosis), we do all things in order whatsoever our Lord has commanded us to do.' Against this false doctrine, the cause of schism, the writer knows no more efficacious remedy than 'the glorious and venerable rule of our high calling.' What this standard of the faith, this test of true knowledge is, he repeatedly asserts: 'Above all remember the words of the Lord Jesus which He spake, teaching us mercy and long-suffering.' Again: 'He that hath the love that is in Christ, let him keep the commandments of Christ.' 'Look into the Holy Scriptures which are the true words of the Holy Ghost. . . . Search into the oracles of God. . . . call them to your remembrance.'

The Father and Creator, the Lord of all, the Most High, is alone to receive glory and worship, but through Christ.

Christ, according to the flesh, is a descendant from Jacob, and belongs, therefore, to that nation from which the Most Holy, or the 'Holy One,' should come. He possesses a 'wonderful light,' being 'sent by God,' who had chosen Him in the same manner as Christ chose and sent the Apostles, that is 'with the fulness of the Holy Spirit,' and in order to announce the nearness of the

CHAP.
VIII.

kingdom of God. As the perfect instrument of the Holy Spirit, Christ is our 'pattern,' our 'High Priest and Protector,' and 'the sceptre of the majesty of God,' by whom God is to be praised. The Spirit of Christ being thus identified with the Spirit of God, it is but a deduction from this leading Paulinic principle, if the writer identifies the Divine Spirit which inspired the prophets with Christ Himself. Thus, in the words of the psalmist,¹ it is Christ himself, the spiritual rock which followed the Israelites, who 'bespeaks us by the Holy Ghost.'² He came not in the show of pride, though as the perfect incarnation of the Divine Word He might have done so. His blood, precious in the sight of God, was shed, as His soul was given up, for our salvation, 'for the love which He bore towards us,' inasmuch as through it the grace of repentance has been obtained for all the world. Yet this repentance was previously to Christ's death already open to all such as would turn to God.

The repentance of the individual, which Christ announced as a necessary precursor of the kingdom of heaven, the turning of the sinner from his way that he may live, is as of old the means by which God is reconciled to God; or, in the words of the Apocrypha, 'to forsake unrighteousness is a propitiation;' to 'forsake sin' is to 'return to the Lord.'³ Clement does not fully develop the doctrine of Divine sonship in all ages through the Divine Word, and this probably for the reason that the Roman church, which, when Paul came to Rome, had been under the dominion of Jews or Judaising Christians, was not yet prepared to understand the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven. Yet the writer shows that he individually held the apocryphal and pre-Christian doctrine about redemption, which Paul had applied to Christ in perfect harmony with the Lord's secret doctrine, the open promulgation of which the Apostles had been obliged to suppress. All righteous men from the beginning have

¹ xxxiv. 11 f.

² xi. 1.

³ Eccl. xxxv. 3; xvii. 25.

been saved by repentance ; but now this turning from sin to the grace of God, which in all ages has made sons of men sons of God, has become so much easier, since by the pattern, the living example of the holy Jesus, all may be convinced of the saving and preventing effects of the Holy Spirit's operation in the hearts of men. They can understand why God has raised him and given him an inheritance and a name more excellent than the angels, none of whom God had set on His right hand. Thus men are through Christ to 'taste the immortal knowledge' or gnosis.¹

But like Paul, Clement connects the perfect atonement by Christ with His blood as well as with His righteousness. He 'gave His own blood for us, . . . His flesh for our flesh, His soul for our souls.'² As God has in all ages accepted *the souls* of the righteous as a perfect atonement, so also is *the blood* of his saints precious in His sight.³ For these reasons the anointed Jesus is the personified Saviour of all, who ought to be 'reverenced,' since through Him the eternal mission of the Divine Spirit has been fully realised. But the writer, like Paul and the other Apostles, has no notion of a personal existence of Christ before the days of His flesh. What is eternal in Jesus is that which makes Him the Christ, that is the Divine Spirit or Word, of which He was a perfect incarnation. But so much less was the doctrine of the Divine Spirit understood in Rome and in Corinth than by the Hebrews (of Alexandria?) to whom the Alexandrian Epistle is addressed, that Clement, though quoting from the latter, omits partly or entirely, and perhaps purposely, some passages which might by the uninitiated be wrongly understood as referring to a personal pre-existence of Christ, of which even in the Alexandrian Epistle there is no trace, if it be rightly understood.

There is but one passage which is, with one remarkable omission, literally reproduced by Clement from the

¹ xvii. 18-22.² xxi. 7.³ Ps. lxxii. 14.

CHAP.
VIII.

Epistle to the Hebrews. 'Who, being the brightness of His glory, is by so much greater than the angels, as He has by inheritance obtained a more excellent name than they.'¹ The Roman writer does not seem to wish to follow the Alexandrian in saying, that Christ is 'the express image of His person,' or more literally, 'the impression of His person.' Then Clement quotes the passage about the angels being spirits,² then that about the begetting of the son,³ then the one about His sitting at God's right hand.⁴ All these are likewise quoted in the Epistle to the Hebrews; but here the last-named Psalm is but indirectly referred to; Christ raised *himself* from the dead, and 'sat down on the right hand of the majesty on high.' Again, in the Alexandrian Epistle, we find it written: 'I will be to him a father, and he shall be to me a son;'⁵ the writer seems to refer to Nathan's prophecy, and to the passage in the Psalms: 'He shall cry unto me, thou art my Father, my God, and the rock of my salvation; also, I will make him my first-born, higher than the kings of the earth.'⁶ Again, it is here said that Christ upholds 'all things by the word of His power,'⁷ and it is asserted that the words of the Psalmist: 'Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever; a sceptre of righteousness is the sceptre of Thy kingdom,'⁸ were as clearly addressed 'to the Son,' as the Messianic passage following thereupon: 'Thou lovest righteousness and hatest iniquity; therefore God, thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows.'⁹ And finally, the following passage from the Psalms is directly applied to Christ, instead of to God: Of old hast Thou laid the foundation on the earth, and the heavens are the work of Thy hands.'¹⁰

If these passages in the Epistle to the Hebrews were

¹ xvii. 18; Hebr. i. 3.

⁴ Ps. cx. 1.

⁷ Hebr. i. 3.

¹⁰ Ps. cii. 25.

² Ps. civ. 4.

⁵ Hebr. i. 5.

⁸ Hebr. i. 8; Ps. xlv. 6.

³ Ps. ii. 7, 8.

⁶ lxxxix. 26, 27.

⁹ Ps. xlv. 7.

intended to prove the personal pre-existence of Christ, they would be devoid of all weight and authority. But the fact that Clement has quoted several passages from the first chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and has omitted to quote any of those which might be understood as to refer to such eternal pre-existence, tends to prove that such views were considered dangerous by Clement. It is clear that Clement, like Paul, distinguished Christ's spiritual or divine from his individual or human nature. If before the days of Christ in the flesh there existed, according to their views, any essential difference between the Holy Spirit or Word as in all ages dwelling in mankind, and as being incarnated in Jesus, such difference could only have arisen from an ideal distinction between the universal agency of God's Spirit, and the aboriginal idea of the Creator, with regard to the object to be obtained by this spiritual agency in the fulness of times. Both according to Paul as according to Clement, it is through the eternal Word or Spirit that man is to be assimilated to the aboriginal archetype of humanity. All are to run the race, but One only, the Holy One, the Only-Begotten, is to obtain the prize, to reach the mark of humanity's high calling.

It was Alexandrian doceticism which, by the denial of Christ's humanity, undermined that foundation, other than which no man can lay. Doceticism was, therefore, the first heresy in the Christian church. And it may be that the heresy in the schism at Corinth originated either in the assumption of Christ's personal pre-existence, or in that denial of his human nature, on which Clement, like Paul, so emphatically insists. This view is somewhat supported by the passage in the Muratorian list, where it is stated that Paul wrote to the Corinthians (as now Clement did), in order to warn them against 'the schism of heresy.' It is not improbable, therefore, that the false teachers who had been the cause of the renewed schism in that Church, had promulgated extreme

CHAP.
VIII.

spiritual doctrines with regard to the person of Christ. If, then, the Lord's humanity had been assailed in Corinth, the Roman writer could do no better than to insist on this fundamental doctrine, and to avoid such references to Psalms which might be regarded as supporting those anti-Christian views.

Such views had been expounded by Simon, perhaps by Philo, and certainly in the Epistle of Barnabas. It is therefore not impossible but that the writer of the latter was one of the false teachers who caused the schism of heresy in Corinth, which in the days of Paul may have been attributed to Apollos, the probable author of the Epistle to the Hebrews; and that Clement's Epistle to the Corinthians has been written with a view of opposing a similar heretical schism in that Church, than that which caused Paul to write his first Epistle to the Corinthians. Be this as it may, what renders the Roman Epistle of such very great value is its reference to the Apostles Peter and Paul, as having in that city heartily co-operated, at least during the last years of their lives,¹ in the promulgation of the Gospel of Christ, for which they both suffered martyrdom. However different their views of Christianity may possibly have remained even unto the end, this Epistle proves that before the close of the first century the Christian doctrine, as professed by one of the leading members of the Roman church, if not by its presiding presbyter, included the fuller revelation of Christianity which Paul had first brought to light, and which Peter had fully adopted in most, if not in all, its essential maxims.²

Faith in Christ is to confirm all things; but justification must be not by faith only, but by faith and by works. Clement, the probable disciple of Peter and Paul, therefore opposes, like the Apostle James, Paul's cardinal doctrine of justification without the works of the law. We have seen that this doctrine had led the writer of

¹ See Cook's article on Peter in Smith's Dictionary, p. 805.

² 1 Pet. v. 10-12.

the Epistle of Barnabas not to insist upon justification as a condition of grace, and to regard the former as a necessary consequence of the 'plentiful effusion of the Holy Ghost,' which leads to 'abundance of knowledge,' to 'wisdom and understanding, and science and knowledge.'¹ But whilst Barnabas impresses upon the Christian 'to strive for his soul with all his might,'² and whilst he rejoices in those souls who have 'worthily received the grace which was grafted in them,'³ who have had 'a spirit infused into them from the pure fountain of God,'⁴ and who are not under the yoke of the works of the law, Clement insists on the necessity of the indwelling grace being outwardly manifested by good works. For although God has from the beginning by faith justified 'all men,' yet it is necessary for the Christian to follow the example of righteous men, who were all adorned with good works. It is by adding works to faith that the Christian is to work the work of righteousness. This gate of righteousness is 'the gate in Christ,' not righteousness self-wrought, not righteousness by men's wisdom or knowledge, or piety, or by the works which they have done 'in the holiness of their hearts, but *by that faith by which God Almighty has justified all men from the beginning.*'⁵ It is by faith in 'the Word of God's power,'⁶ in the 'will' of God 'in Christ Jesus,' that 'we also' are called; by faith in the great Power from the beginning, in the Divine Wisdom or Word, which is 'the Saviour of all,' and 'healeth all things';⁷ by the Spirit or Name, or Will of God, by which all men are called and justified in all ages, are perfected in love, have obtained a place among the righteous, and will be made manifest in the judgment of the kingdom of Christ. But according to Clement, in order to obtain justification and redemption, it is necessary to observe the times and seasons appointed by the law, and a church-service performed by

¹ Barn. i. & ii.² xiv. 17.³ i. 2.⁴ i. 3.⁵ xiv. 20, 21.⁶ xii. 13.⁷ Wis. xvi. 7, 12.

CHAP.
VIII.

duly appointed ministers, which are in this Epistle for the first time called 'bishops.' Thus before the end of the first century, in the Roman church, unity was engrafted on universality, and centralisation became the crown of catholicity.

If the Epistle of Clement is acknowledged as a scripture composed in the end of the first or the beginning of the second century, then it is the positive, though perfectly isolated proof that Paul had not written his Epistle to the Romans in vain, and that by his personal influence the principles of the Lord's secret doctrine were effectually ingrafted at least on some of the members of the Church at Rome, notwithstanding the Judaising, if not Jewish influence of its rulers. About the time when the primitive Christian church, which had returned to the destroyed city, seems to have continued in that Judaising tendency,¹ which Paul strove to destroy, the doctrine of 'the Hidden Wisdom' was fearlessly, though cautiously, proclaimed from Rome, and the great Apostle was revered as a martyr, as a disciple of Jesus, as a man who within the memory of generations then living, had been during the last years of his life persecuted by 'the chief of the Jews' at Rome, under whose tyranny Paul's 'brethren' in that city were regarded and treated as a sect everywhere spoken against. And even writings of Paul are here directly referred to, whilst the gospel quotations seem to have been derived, like those in the writings of Justin the Martyr, from a gospel-harmony compiled after Matthew, Luke, and possibly Mark, if not John. It must be admitted as strange that no reference to the latter gospel should be made by a writer who urges the necessity of walking obediently to the 'holy words' of Jesus, and who frequently refers to Matthew's and Luke's garbled record of the same. Was the supplementary record of the Lord's sayings still hidden, because of the perverse influence of Jewish rulers, or

¹ See Schwegeler's *N. A. Zeitalter*, i. pp. 94 f., 142 f., 343 f.

the timidity of the heads of the Christian church? The timidity with which Clement expounds, or rather refers to the doctrine of the sonship, his anxiety that all Christians should be of one mind, leads us to assume that this may have been the case. Moreover, notwithstanding Clement's Paulinic views of Christianity, it is by no means certain that Jewish and Judaising influences had entirely disappeared in the Roman church. Paulinic Christianity consisted in the application of pre-Christian apocryphal principles to Christ, in harmony with the Lord's secret doctrine; and the Jews in Rome, who certainly had some influence with the Christians in that city during Paul's lifetime, would naturally oppose the introduction of principles the open proclamation of which had at all times been forbidden in Palestine. Again, the Judaising Christians in Rome would naturally cling to the original apostolic record of elementary Christianity. They were not prepared to leave the elementary doctrine of Christ and to press towards the more perfect;¹ nor would they be inclined to admit of a harmony including the fourth or apocryphal Gospel after John. Under these circumstances and for these reasons, we may assume that the gospel of the disciple whom Jesus loved was not known or not acknowledged by the body of the Roman church, at least not up to the beginning of the second century.

The Shepherd of Hermas.

Directly connected with the Epistle of Clement is another unquestionably genuine scripture which was composed in Rome not many years after this Epistle. Hermas, to whom 'the Shepherd' is attributed, was, like Clement, who is here mentioned as living, a member of the Roman Church. All critics seem to agree that the work was certainly written before the middle of the second century, and probably between the years 130 and 140. Thus it

Introduc-
tion.

¹ Hebr. vi. 1.

CHAP.
VIII.

forms a most important link between Clement and Justin Martyr, and enables us to trace the gradual development of Christian doctrine in the Church of Rome. It is first mentioned in the Muratorian list (about 170), not as the work of the apostolical Hermas,¹ but as written in those days ('in our days') by the brother of the Roman bishop Pius, of whom we know that in this capacity he lived from about the year 142 to 151. According to this document of the time of Irenæus, the Shepherd was permitted to be read, but not in the church, and it must not form part of the canon. This injunction, which was not generally in force in the third, fourth and fifth centuries, is a proof that it was by many regarded as a work of some authority. This is confirmed by Eusebius, who informs us² that the book was 'not placed among those of acknowledged authority,' but that by others it was 'judged most necessary, especially to those who need *'an elementary introduction.'*³ It is as if Eusebius, in the spirit of the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, had regarded such writings, which were merely based on 'the elementary doctrine of Christ,' promulgated by his original Apostles, as of little value in the face of 'the more perfect' doctrine first publicly proclaimed by Paul.

Whilst much resembling the Epistle of Jude, and, in its form, the Apocalypse, the Shepherd does not once refer either to Paul or directly to any of his Epistles or specific doctrines. It seems to be, as far as we know, the purest expression of that Jewish type of Christianity to which it is not improbable that the majority of the members of the Roman church belonged, when Paul addressed to the same his Epistle. But supposing that the Church at Rome had from the outset a Paulinic tendency, and that the majority of its members were Paulinians when the Apostle wrote his Epistle; supposing, therefore, that the Roman church had been planted by Paul himself, how are we to account for the fact that, a generation later,

¹ Rom. xvi. 14.

² H. E. iii. 3.

³ Comp. Hebr. vi. 1.

the tradition was promulgated by Roman writings,¹ that Peter and not Paul was the founder of this Church, and that the twelve Apostles, and not Paul, were sent to the nations 'which make up the whole world?'² In any case it is difficult to explain that neither Paul nor his doctrine are directly referred to in a Scripture professedly written by the brother of a Roman bishop, and which for centuries after formed part of the canon, notwithstanding the protests of many against such acknowledgment? If Paul has lived, taught, and died at Rome, if Clement places him in every respect on a par with Peter, though mentioning Paul's name after that of Peter, and if, notwithstanding this, from the beginning to the middle of the second century no direct mention of Paul is made in any authentic document of this time, that is, by such writers as Hermas, Papias, Hegesippus, and Justin Martyr; then the supposition gains ground that whatever influence Paul may have had among the Christians in Rome, it vanished before the expiration of eighty years after his death, for some reason or other, and for a limited time.

Before we attempt to account for this phenomenon, we must point out which were, according to the Shepherd of Hermas, the relations between God, Christ, and humanity. For with this question is intimately connected the promulgation of Christian gnosticism, and also the origin of Christian doceticism, the further spreading and development of which was, as we shall show, determined in a large degree by the influence which docetic leaders gained in the Roman church about the middle of the second century. We have seen that in the first century, and even during the lifetime of Paul, 'the schism of heresy' had commenced, which was probably based on the direct negation of the humanity of Christ, so clearly defined and acknowledged by Paul. We pointed out that although Paul does not see the necessity of especially insisting on the personality of God the Father, yet that he acknow-

God,
Christ, and
humanity.

¹ See 'The Preaching of Peter.'

² Hom. III. ix. 161.

CHAP.
VIII.

ledges the Holy Spirit of God as proceeding from a heavenly source, and that he thereby implies the personality of 'the Creator.' He identifies with the same in one sense, and he distinguishes from Him in another, the transcendent and indwelling, the proceeding and world-pervading Holy Spirit. Jesus, as the perfect instrument, as the incarnation of the Holy Ghost, was identified with the same, and because of His spiritual nature He was by Paul proclaimed to be 'from heaven,' whence the Divine Spirit proceeds. We pointed out that the same view was taken by the Roman Clement and by the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, but that a few passages seem to have been so interpreted by some, as to draw in question the reality of Christ's humanity, a cardinal apostolic doctrine, which is clearly opposed in the Epistle attributed to Barnabas, where Christ is proclaimed as the 'Son of God,' and '*not* the Son of Man.'

It is of the highest importance to be able to prove that, in the face of such anti-apostolic views, the Church of Rome maintained up to the beginning and nearly up to the middle of the second century the pure apostolic doctrine in this point. Although in the Shepherd not even the most indirect allusion is contained either to Paul or to his peculiar doctrines, yet on the all-important question with regard to the relation between God, Christ, and humanity, the views here developed are in perfect harmony with those promulgated by Paul and the other Apostles, who seem to have made common cause against the inroads of that docetic gnosticism which denied the humanity of Christ. It may be granted that the writer indirectly refers to Christ's existence before His days in the flesh; to His having been present at the creation of the world, and to His having existed before the same. But, like Paul, Apollos and Clement, Hermas clearly defines such pre-existence of Christ to have been merely a spiritual one, and consequent on the identity of His spiritual nature with the Holy Spirit or Word of God, which had become

incarnate in Him. In the fifth parable he gives the following account.

CHAP.
VIII.

‘ A certain man (“ who created and finished all things, and gave virtue unto them”), having a farm (“ the whole earth”) and many servants, planted a vineyard (“ the people whom he saves”) in a certain part of his estate for his posterity. And taking a journey into a far country, chose one of his servants (“ the Son of God”), which he thought the most faithful and approved, and delivered the vineyard into his care, commanding him that he should stake up the vines (“ the stakes are the messengers which are set over ” God’s people “ to support them”); which if he did, and fulfilled his command, he promised to give him his liberty. Nor did he command him to do anything more, and so went into a far country. And after that that servant had taken that charge upon him, he did whatsoever his Lord commanded him. And when he had staked the vineyard and found it to be full of weeds (“ the sins which the servants of God had committed”), he began to think with himself, saying : I have done what my Lord commanded me, I will now dig this vineyard, and when it is digged it will be more beautiful ; and the weeds being pulled up, it will bring forth more fruit, and not be choked by the weeds. So setting about this work he digged it, and plucked up all the weeds that were in it ; and so the vineyard became very beautiful and prosperous, not being choked with weeds. After some time (“ the time that remains unto his coming”) the Lord of the vineyard comes and goes into the vineyard, and when he saw that it was handsomely staked and digged, and the weeds plucked up that were in it, and the vines flourishing, he rejoiced greatly at the care of his servant. And calling his Son whom he loved (“ the Holy Spirit”), and who was to be his heir, and his friends with whom he was wont to consult (“ the holy angels whom he first created”), he tells them what he had commanded his servant to do, and what his servant had done more ; and

CHAP.
VIII.

they immediately congratulated that servant that he had received so just a commendation from his Lord. Then he said to them : I indeed promised this servant his liberty if he observed the command which I gave him ; and he observed it, and besides has done a good work to my vineyard, which has exceedingly pleased me. Wherefore for this work which he hath done I will make him my heir together with my Son ; because that when he saw what was good he neglected it not but did it.'

'This design of the Lord both his Son and his friends approved, namely, that his servant should be heir together with his Son. Not long after this the master of the family, calling together his friends, sent from his supper several kinds of food to that servant ("the commands which he gave to his people by his Son"), which when he had received, he took so much of them as was sufficient for himself, and divided the rest among his fellow-servants ; which when they had received they rejoiced, and wished that he might find yet greater favour with his Lord for what he had done to them. When his Lord heard all these things, he was again filled with great joy, and calling again his friends and his Son together, he related to them what his servant had done with the meats which he had sent unto him. They therefore so much the more assented to the master of the household ; and he ought to make that servant his heir together with his Son.'

Having thus clearly distinguished the Holy Spirit as the Son of God from the Man Jesus as the servant of God, the writer thus proceeds in his explanation of this parable.

'That Holy Spirit, which was created first of all, he (the Lord) placed in the body in which God should dwell, namely, in a chosen body, as it seemed good to him. This body, therefore, into which the Holy Spirit was brought, served that Spirit, walking rightly and purely in modesty, nor ever defiled that Spirit. Seeing,

therefore, the body at all times obeyed the Holy Spirit, and laboured rightly and chastely with him, nor faltered at any time, that body being wearied conversed indeed servilely, but being mightily approved to God with the Holy Spirit, was accepted by Him. . . He, therefore, called to council His Son, and the good angels, that there might be some place of standing¹ given to this body, which had served the Holy Spirit without blame, lest it should seem to have lost the reward of its service. For *every* pure body shall receive its reward that is found without spot, in which the Holy Spirit has been appointed to dwell.'

Again, in the ninth parable or similitude the Holy Spirit who had spoken to Hermas as the Church, is especially called 'the Son of God.' It is, therefore, the combination of the Spirit of God with a human body, which of the Man Jesus has made the Christ, the Son of God, a joint heir of the first created Holy Spirit, who was the Son of God, before being brought into the chosen body. It is very remarkable that we find in the Shepherd the same distinction, and yet unity, between the Holy Spirit and Christ, between the cause and the effect, which forms so striking a feature in the Gospel after John, where Christ is distinguished from 'the other' comforter or advocate, that is, from another incarnation of the Spirit of Truth which proceeds from the Father. And this similarity is all the more important because, as in John's gospel, so in this Scripture, the complete oneness of Christ with the Father and through the Spirit is maintained, which is nowhere more forcibly illustrated than in the parable of the vine, to which the above considered fifth parable in the Shepherd bears so striking a resemblance. The Holy Spirit was in the beginning with God and was God, as the firstling of creation. In the fulness of time this Divine essence entered a chosen body, and, inasmuch as this body at all times obeyed the Holy Spirit

¹ Comp. 'the standing One' proclaimed by the Simonians.

CHAP.
VIII.

which was within the same, it was God himself who dwelled in this carnal tenement of his Spirit, or, as Clement writes, in the 'vessel' of the Holy Ghost. But the Holy Spirit has proceeded from God in the beginning as His Son, that is, as the Spirit of the sonship, the Spirit of adoption. The Man Jesus, having obtained the prize of humanity's high calling, having become the perfect human organ of the Divine Spirit, became joint heir with the eternal Son of God. Inasmuch as his earthen vessel contained the Spirit of God without measure, he was the first earth-born Son of God, and yet the Son which dwelled in Him, His spiritual nature, was from heaven, was one with the Creator. Therefore to the oneness of God and His Spirit was added in the fulness of time the oneness of the Divine Spirit and of the Man Jesus.

The Shepherd of Hermas is the earliest scripture transmitted to us in which the Divine Trinity in Unity, and Unity in Trinity, is developed. Had at this time a doctrine existed about three eternal persons who are yet one eternal person, the writer must have opposed the same as contrary to his system. He develops the doctrine of a Trinity eternally conceived and predestinated, but not eternally existing. In order that God may be all in all, humanity must be raised to the Godhead by the first-born Spirit or Word, whose incarnation was raised to the right hand of God as the second person of the Trinity. Christ-Jesus will draw all men after Him, and these will form the third person of the Godhead, the holy Catholic church glorified.

We see that the writer does not distinguish between the Divine Word and the Divine Spirit, although he seems to have been well acquainted with that part of Philo's system which is in harmony with the original apocryphal tradition, and not corrupted by Greek philosophy. The servant of God in the flesh, who had 'the Lord in his heart,'¹ the chosen body in whom God had placed the first created Holy Spirit, has been raised to the predestinated sonship of God; or, in the words of

¹ III. v. 38.

Paul, the second, the spiritual Adam, although according to the flesh made of the seed of David, has been made a quickening, a life-giving Spirit. The writer has thus but transcribed the Paulinic words, 'the Lord is the Spirit;' for both agree in insisting on the full reality of the *incarnate* Saviour. Jesus becomes the Christ by His perfect obedience, by serving the Holy Spirit without blame, by keeping His body unspotted.

Like Paul, Hermas applies to Christ the pre-Christian and apocryphal doctrine about the Divine Wisdom, or Word, or Holy Spirit. But he does so with great caution, and without directly referring either to Paul or to the Apocrypha, or even to the Gospel after John. And this is not to be wondered at, considering that if not the majority, at least the most influential members of the Roman church, most probably as we have seen, were at that time opposed to the principles of apocryphal Christianity, that is, of the Hidden Wisdom as proclaimed by Paul. If, in order to reveal the secret doctrine of Christ, and to confirm the Gospel of Paul, the Apostle John did write the fourth gospel of our canon, its continued non-recognition by the Church of Rome in the beginning of the second century can be thus accounted for.

So little does the doctrine of the Divine sonship in all ages seem to have been understood and accepted in the Roman church, that Hermas does not follow Paul in calling Christ 'the first-born among all creatures;' nor does he call Him 'the first-born among many brethren,' although the former expression is a natural consequence of His oneness with the first-created Divine Spirit, and though the latter expression refers to his humanity raised to the Godhead. Yet, like Paul and John, Hermas believes that in and by Jesus the highest destiny of man has been accomplished, inasmuch as the Divine Word which was in the beginning with God and was God has become flesh, and dwelled among men. The writer states that the gifts which the servant of God received by

CHAP.
VIII.

the Holy Ghost he 'divided among his fellow-servants,' *after having taken 'so much of them as was sufficient for himself.'* His fellow-servants, his brethren, have but to press forward to the mark, to look to their great pattern, the captain of salvation whom God has sanctified, and they will then be enabled to overcome as he has overcome. The Holy Spirit will be appointed to dwell in them as he dwelled in Jesus; they will become pure even as He is pure, they will be as He is, inasmuch as '*every* pure body shall receive its reward' according to its degree of purity and holiness. For 'those' who have believed in God by His Son have put on His Spirit. 'Behold there shall be *one Spirit and one body*, . . . and *all* they shall attain this who shall bear the names (not only of the Son of God, who "also Himself beareth their names," but also) of these virgins,' that is, of 'the Holy Spirits.'¹ We have seen that the 'name' of God refers to His Spirit of holiness, and thus we infer that the 'names' of the Son and of the good spirits refer to their holiness.

It follows from this that, according to Hermas, the Divine Spirit's work of redemption, which has been fully accomplished in and through Christ, spread over the whole of His life of obedience. And this is confirmed by a passage which alludes directly to this subject. Referring to his fellow-servants 'whom the Father delivered unto him,' Hermas states that the Son of God on earth 'Himself laboured very much, and suffered much, that He might blot out their offences. For no vineyard can be digged without much labour and pains. Wherefore *having* blotted out the sins of His people, He showed to them the paths of life, giving them the law which He had received of the Father.'² We see, therefore, that in the writer's opinion *Christ atoned by His righteousness and not by blood*. Those whom the Father had given Him³ were 'His people,' whose offences were blotted out by the labour and the suffering of His entire life of obedience, of

¹ III. ix. 125.² III. v. 51, 52.³ Comp. John vi. 39.

which His death was the culminating point. Had a different opinion about Christ's atonement prevailed in the Roman church, it would here have been combated. If, then, not even Paul's view of the atonement, once and for ever made by the righteousness *and* blood of the Man Jesus, was accepted by the Church of Rome, how much less could the views developed in the Epistle to the Hebrews have been understood, about the eternal high priest not taken from among men, who for ever continues to atone for the sins of those who, unlike Christ (as was erroneously interpreted), were descendants of the human race?

There is no trace in the 'Shepherd' of the Paulinic doctrine of justification by faith only. The cardinal doctrine, communicated to the writer by the Holy Ghost, who as 'the messenger of righteousness' is with him,¹ and who dwells with him 'continually,'² is this: to believe in 'One God, who created and framed all things of nothing into being,' who 'comprehends all things, and is only immense, not to be comprehended by any; who can neither be defined by any words, nor conceived by the mind;' man is to 'believe in Him, . . . and fearing Him, abstain from all evil, . . . and put on righteousness,' so that he may 'live to God.'³ 'Stand fast, therefore, ye that work righteousness and continue to do it, that your departure may be with the holy angels. . . . Happy are ye, as many as shall endure the great trial that is at hand, and whosoever shall not deny his life. For the Lord hath sworn by His Son, that whoso denieth His Son and Him, being afraid of his life, He will also deny him in the world that is to come.'⁴ But those who shall never deny Him, He will of His exceeding great mercy be favourable to. . . . For this cause shalt thou be saved, that thou hast not departed from the living God, and thy simplicity and

¹ II. v. 9.² II. iv. 13.³ II. i.⁴ This passage clearly refers to the Lord's saying which is recorded only in Matthew (x. 33), and evidently referred to in the second Epistle to Tim. (ii. 12).

CHAP.
VIII.

singular continency shall preserve thee if thou shalt continue in them. Yea, they shall save all such as do such things and walk in innocence and simplicity.’¹ ‘Keep the commandments of the Lord, and thou shalt be approved, and shalt be written in the number of those that keep His commandments. But if, besides those things which the Lord hath commanded, thou shalt add some good thing, thou shalt purchase to thyself a *greater dignity* and be in *more* favour with the Lord than thou shouldst otherwise have been.’²

Although in the epistles of Paul,³ and in the Paulinic Gospel after Luke, no mention is made of water-baptism, yet, according to the Shepherd, baptism is the necessary condition of entering the Christian church.⁴ ‘Before a man receives the name of the Son of God, he is ordained unto death; but when he receives that seal, he is freed from death and assigned unto life. Now that seal is *the water of baptism*, into which men go down under the obligation unto death, but come up appointed unto life.’ Even to the dead this seal was ‘preached, and they made use of it, that they might enter the kingdom of God.’⁵ It is a remarkable fact that in this scripture no mention is made of circumcision, and this omission leads us to assume that the less ancient rite of water-baptism had taken the place of the same. In a vision Hermas is by the Holy Spirit enabled to see the building of a tower, the Church, the foundation of which is water, because his ‘life is and shall be saved by water.’⁶ The Church, that is the Holy Spirit, is as old as the world, which was created for her; she has always proclaimed and ever will proclaim ‘the law of God.’ The gospel is therefore but a revival of the law, which was ordained before the foundation of the world.⁷ The Church is universal, but the respective position

¹ I. ii.² III. v. 25.³ Comp. 1 Cor. i. 17.⁴ The omission of every allusion to the rite of the last supper is as remarkable than that no mention is made of Christ’s atoning death and corporeal resurrection.⁵ III. ix. 151-154.⁶ I. iii. 42.⁷ Comp. Gal. iii. 17; Rom. xvi. 25.

assigned to Christians in the same differs according to their having more or less perfectly kept the law now revived by the Son of God.

CHAP.
VIII.

It follows from the preceding investigation that the writer cannot possibly have conceived a *personal* existence of the Man Jesus before His days in the flesh. Only because of the identity of His spiritual nature with the Spirit of God is He here described as being, like the latter, the Son of God, and eternal. Hermas, therefore, refers to the Divine Spirit, the firstling of creation, and the Son of His love, when he writes; 'the name of the Son of God is great and without bounds, and the whole world is supported by it.'¹ This interpretation is confirmed by the remarkable passage² where the inspired Hermas is told in a vision by God that the Church 'is founded by the word of the almighty and honourable name, and is supported by the invisible power and virtue of God.' It is also clear, that Hermas understood the above declaration about the Son of God supporting the world in this sense. It is the invisible power of God which does so.³ Hermas accordingly proceeds to ask: 'If, therefore, . . . every creature of God be sustained by his Son, why should He not support those also who have been invited by Him, and who bear His name, and walk in His commandments?' The Man Jesus having been anointed by the Holy Spirit, the former has by His obedience become the perfect incarnation and sanctified organ of the latter, so that to be

¹ III. ix. 137; comp. Hebr. i. 3.

² I. iii. 42.

³ This view is also developed, as we have seen, in the apocryphal writings of the Septuagint. Created by God in the beginning, the Divine Spirit, Wisdom or Word, who is 'the *breath* of the power of God,' and 'is privy to the mysteries of the knowledge of God . . . the Almighty' (Wis. vii. 25-27), was poured out, not only on Israel, his 'first-born,' and 'only begotten Son,' but on mankind, since she 'is with all flesh according to his gift' (Eccl. i. 8-10; 2 Esd. vi. 58). Not anything that was seen, no '*sign* of salvation' does save, but God Himself, 'the Saviour of all.' The Word of God 'healeth all things,' and His 'children' know it (Wis. xvi. 6, 7, 12, 26). God is the 'Father' of 'the righteous,' and every righteous man is 'the child of the Lord, . . . the son of God' (Wis. ii. 13, 16, 18).

CHAP.
VIII.

'in the Spirit' is to be 'in Christ,' and that the name of the one is the name of the other.

Having like Paul identified Christ with the Spirit, the author of the Shepherd states, that God's Son in the flesh having become joint heir with God's first-created Son in the Spirit, henceforth the former, as hitherto the latter, supports the sons of God on earth, the 'fellow-servants' of the Son of God. These have received 'the name of the Son of God' in baptism, and by obediently serving the Spirit of God, their inward counsellor, they have been 'clothed with the garment' of 'the Holy Spirits.'¹ For whilst 'the only way of coming unto God is the Son of God, . . . no man can enter into the kingdom of God except these clothe him with their garment. For it will avail thee nothing to take up the name of the Son of God unless thou shalt also receive their garment from them. . . . For these virgins ("Holy Spirits") are the powers of the Son of God. So shall a man in vain bear his name unless he shall be also endued with his powers.'²

We see that in these passages, as also in the parable of the vineyard, the writer distinguishes the Holy Spirits, as the powers of the Son of God, from the name of the Son of God. He seems to point out the difference between cause and effect, between essential truth and truth applied. A Christian must be endued with the name or Spirit of Christ, and also with the powers, the fruits of the Son of God, that is, with His garment; he must be clothed with the righteousness of Christ, the effect of Divine grace and human obedience. 'The body in which God should dwell' was made first; it was of the earth earthy; for according to the flesh Christ was 'made of the seed of David.' In this body was placed by God Himself the Holy Spirit, His first-created '*Son*.' Thus to 'the image of the earthy' was *added* by God 'the image of the heavenly,' and thus

¹ This is clearly a reference to the wedding garment mentioned by Christ, and to the garments which according to the Targum were given to Adam and Moses.

² III. ix. 116-121.

in literal accordance with the doctrine of Paul, the second or last Adam 'was *made* a quickening Spirit. Howbeit that was *not* first which is spiritual, but that which is natural; and *afterward* that which is spiritual.'¹

The omission of the doctrine of Christ's personal pre-existence in a Scripture which Origen and other fathers of the Church regarded as 'divinely inspired,' has been a stumbling-block even to enlightened critical authorities.² We must, therefore, enter more fully into this important question. Not Christ, but the Spirit of God as the Church, is represented by an 'old woman' in the third vision.³ For in the ninth similitude⁴ it is expressly stated: 'I will show thee all those things which the Spirit spake with thee under the figure of the Church, for *that Spirit is the Son of God*.' And this is confirmed in the fifth parable, where the Holy Spirit is designated as the first-created Son of God, and is as such distinguished from 'the servant,' who by receiving the Holy Spirit into his body, and by being obedient to the same, became Christ the Son of God. With regard to the Spirit, that is the Church, which appeared to Hermas in the form of an old woman, he is told: 'She is therefore an old woman, because she was the first of all the creation,⁵ and the world was made for her.'⁶ And this primogeniture of the Holy Spirit, as distinguished from Christ, and yet '*one*' with Him, is confirmed also by the following remarkable passage: 'Tell me what this rock *and* this gate denote? Hearken, said he, this rock *and* this gate *are* the Son of God. I replied, Sir, how can that be, seeing the rock is *old*, but the gate *new*? Hear, said he, O foolish man! and understand. The Son of God (the spiritual rock) is indeed

¹ 1 Cor. xv.

² Comp. Dorner's 'Christologie,' and Hilgenfeld's 'Apost. Väter.' The former insists and the latter does not deny, that some passages may be explained in the sense of a personal pre-existence.

³ I. ii. 31 f.

⁴ III. ix.

⁵ More literally 'created of all the first' (omnium prima creata est).

⁶ I. ii. 33.

CHAP.
VIII.

more ancient than any creature, insomuch as He was in council with His Father at the creation of all things. But the gate ("the only way of coming unto God") is therefore new, because He appeared in *the last days*, in the fulness of time; that they who shall attain unto salvation may by it enter into the kingdom of God.¹ Or, in other words, although it is one and the same Spirit, which was created before the foundation of the world, and which in the last days was in Christ and manifested by Him, yet the one is 'the first-born among *all creatures*,' like the Word, Wisdom or Spirit of the pre-Christian Apocrypha, whilst the other was but the finite manifestation of the infinite, the incarnation of the eternal Spirit, the natural body which became the temple of the spiritual body, 'the first-born among *many brethren*' or among 'his fellows,' the perfect human instrument or advocate of the Holy Ghost. The 'rock,' the spiritual rock which followed the Israelites, that is the Divine Word from the beginning, is 'old' in comparison with the 'gate' or 'door,' that is with the perfect incarnation of the same, with Jesus the incarnate word, who said of himself, 'I am the door.'² The Divine Word is 'more ancient than any creature,' or, in the words of Paul, Christ as the Word, as the Son of God, is 'the first-born of every creature,'³ whilst as the Son of Man, he is 'the first-born among many brethren.'⁴ The aboriginally predestinated Christ was before all time, but Jesus the Christ came 'in the last days, in the fulness of time.' The sanctifying Spirit was before the sanctified man, the Word had commenced the redeeming mission of all ages before the Word became flesh.

Whenever an angel or messenger or more of them are mentioned, they are ministering spirits, and therefore like every creature in heaven and earth, subordinate to the firstling of creation, the Spirit of God. Thus the latter, in

¹ III. ix. 109-111.² Col. i. 15.³ John x. 9; comp. Heb. ix. 8.⁴ Rom. vii. 29.

the form of an old woman, is in a vision seen by Hermas as accompanied by six young men.¹ Again, the shepherd who appears to Hermas is called 'the angel of repentance.'² This angel is further described as a man surpassing in stature all other men, and even the tower or church itself. He is surrounded by the same six men before mentioned, and therefore whilst he must be taken to be identical with the old woman, or Spirit of God, yet the same is here represented as embodied by an angel. In the same manner as the rock and the gate, although distinguished from one another, are identified with each other, so also here the old woman and the 'man.'³ It has been fully established,⁴ that the Holy Spirit of God, of feminine gender in Hebrew (which circumstance accounts for the simile of the woman and the virgins), has been alternately represented in the female and in the male form in several writings of the second century. Therefore the ideas of the Holy Spirit as the Son of God and also as a woman, stand in near relation to these views, and these cannot be regarded as mere individual opinions of the author of 'the Shepherd.'

This work is also important in another respect. It shows us that not long before the middle of the second century the bishop of a church had only local authority, and that he divided the duties of church-government with his colleagues forming the presbyterial body, and from which he is not essentially distinguished. It is however probable, that in every church the senior of the presbyters presided over their consultations. And although in the Shepherd there is yet no clear trace of a monarchical bishop, yet the circumstance that Clement is to send 'to the foreign cities' the written revelations of Hermas, 'because it is permitted to him so to do,'⁵ sufficiently proves that whilst being somewhat dependent on the sanction of others, perhaps on that of his presbyterial

¹ I. iii. 9.² III. ix. 1.³ III. ix. 49.⁴ See Hilgenfeld, 'Apostolische Väter,' p. 167, note 16.⁵ I. ii. 36.

 CHAP.
VIII.

brethren, the president of the Roman presbyters, the Bishop of Rome stood perhaps in a peculiar relation to other Christian churches at this time, and that he may be regarded as holding already in the early part of the second century a position not unlike the one which the head of the Roman church later claimed, as the bishop of bishops.

These are the views with regard to the relations between God, Christ and humanity, as expressed in one of the earliest known documents emanating from the Roman church. They receive an additional importance by the fact that, at the end of the second century, Irenæus, the first who mentions our four Gospels by name, quotes the Shepherd as a canonical book, as 'Scripture;' that the same is frequently mentioned with the utmost reverence even by Clement of Alexandria, whilst Origen speaks of it as 'divinely inspired,' and whilst as such it was during the Arian controversy unanimously referred to as a doctrinal authority.¹

These views militate in every way against that docetism of which we have tried to render probable, that already during the lifetime of Paul it had begun to promulgate the doctrines implying the negation of Christ's human nature. Either the personal eternal existence of Christ, or the denial of his humanity, or both these errors, had to be combated by the Apostles. The records of Simon's doctrine, some passages in Philo, and the Epistle attributed to Barnabas, must be regarded as the earliest exponents of docetic gnosticism applied to Christ, and which as such must be carefully distinguished from the apocryphal gnosticism, which Christ has confirmed, developed, and applied to Himself. Whilst Christian gnosticism, that is, the secret doctrine or Hidden Wisdom of Christ, which Paul first openly proclaimed to the world, had already in the beginning of the second century ceased to be recognised by the Roman church, docetic gnosticism

¹ Comp. Schweigler's N. A. Z., i. 341.

had not found its way into the same, although before this time, and at two different periods, it seems to have raised its head in the church at Corinth. CHAP.
VIII.

We must now briefly point out the relations between gnosticism and doceticism, before we refer to the Ignatian Epistles.

Gnosticism and Doceticism.

In a previous chapter we have considered the nature and probable origin of that pre-Christian Jewish gnosticism, of which Alexandria and Tarsus were the centres, and of which the apocryphal writings, forming part of the Septuagint or Alexandrian canon, were the earliest authoritative exponents. Having pointed out the relation between Paul's writings and the Alexandrian Apocrypha, we showed that, in applying the doctrines of the latter to Christ, Paul had fully and clearly identified the spiritual nature of the Lord with the Divine Power, Spirit or Wisdom, which, according to the pre-Christian Apocrypha, where the same is also called the 'Word,' was in the beginning with God, and by Him was sent on earth to be with man as his Saviour. Although Paul writes that 'the Lord is the Spirit,' that the second or spiritual Adam is 'from heaven,' that he is the rock which accompanied the Israelites; although he speaks about 'the Hidden Wisdom,' and calls Christ 'the Power of God and the Wisdom of God,' yet he does not call Christ the 'Word,' which was in the beginning with God. He preaches the Hidden Wisdom 'in a mystery,' that is, with the caution with which even the chiefest of the Apostles would introduce 'another gospel' than the one originally preached by the Apostles at Jerusalem, who, by keeping back the Lord's secret doctrine, were themselves 'shut up unto the faith which should afterwards be revealed,' in accordance with Christ's command. Introduc-
tion.

We then proved that, like Simon Magus, the author of the Epistle attributed to Barnabas, perhaps with a

CHAP.
VIII.

view of directly applying to Christ this pre-Christian and apocryphal doctrine about the eternal Word, both deny the reality of Christ's humanity, which must have been by many supposed to stand in the way of such adaptation. The non-personality of that Divine essence, of the Word, the first-born among all creatures, being so clearly defined in the Alexandrian Apocrypha, such a doctrine could not at once be absolutely identified with a human individual as such; but it could be easily applied to and identified with the Divine nature of a divinely chosen human individual. The Divine Word or Spirit having from the beginning of creation dwelled in man, it might be easily conceived that the same dwelled, in all its fulness, because unopposed, in the Man Jesus, who accordingly received the Divine Power without measure, and became the Christ, the man anointed by the eternal Holy Ghost from above, the anointed Advocate or Witness, the incarnate Word. Thus far, therefore, the identification of the Holy Spirit or Word with the Man Jesus need not have led to a negation of Christ's humanity. But the latter became endangered when the personality of God the Father began to be denied.

We hope to have sufficiently established the fact that in all scriptures forming part of the Septuagint, the invisible and spiritual, although in fact the personal unity of God, is opposed to the Hebrew and Palestinian doctrine of God's visible unity and personality. We have shown that, in accordance with the spirit of the Apocrypha, the scriptures forming the Hebrew canon underwent a systematic change, which had for its object the alteration of all those passages which referred to the visible personality of God. According to the Alexandrian canon, of which the Hebrew writings thus altered formed a part, God is an invisible person, inhabiting his heavenly dwelling place. From Him proceeds the Divine Spirit, Wisdom or Word, the Saviour of all, whose office it is to form a medium of communion between the Creator and the crea-

ture, and by sanctifying the latter in accordance with its obedience, gradually to raise mankind to the Godhead. We see, then, that the Creator, whose form no man had seen, was distinguished in one sense, and not distinguished in another, from the Divine essence, which issued forth from Him in the beginning. From this it follows that so long as the personality of God was clearly maintained as an undoubted, though mysterious reality, there could be no danger in identifying the universal sanctifying Mediator, the Divine Word proceeding from the same, with a human personality. A chosen individual might become a chosen 'vessel of the Spirit,' a more or less perfect embodiment of the same. And since the alliance with Divine Wisdom was regarded as the source of immortality, sanctified human individuality would be raised to angelic individuality, since the same Wisdom or 'Name' of God dwells also in angelic or celestial bodies. The angelic manifestation of the Divine 'Name' was the precursor of its human manifestation or embodiment, into which even angels would desire to look. But as soon as the personality of God had begun to be denied, the Divine Power or Word of God could no longer be identified even with the most perfected of human individuals. For inasmuch as personality is above non-personality, the identifying of the non-personal Divine Spirit or Word with the non-personal God on the one side, and with a human personality on the other, would necessarily have been tantamount to the raising of the creature above the Creator; the effect would have become greater than the cause.

We have seen that at the time of Christ's advent the apocryphal doctrine of the Divine Word had in Alexandria undergone an essential change in the direction above described. Philo already declared that the Divine Word cannot become flesh, and in some passages he made the attempt of defining the same as an eternal person, as a second God. The disciples of Philo, in applying to

CHAP.
VIII.

Christianity this doctrine of the Word, would be led to claim for the latter, though indirectly at first, an eternal personality. They would positively assert, however, and this from the outset, the impossibility of an incarnation of the Divine Word. The latter might appear in what seemed to be a human body; but it could never in its fulness dwell in human flesh. This is what the writer of the Epistle attributed to Barnabas, like that to the Hebrews of Alexandrian origin, has done. Assuming Apollos to have been the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, probably to those of the Alexandrian church, we proceeded to show that certain passages would easily be so interpreted by the Docetics, as to imply the denial of Christ's humanity, and that the separation of the party of Apollos from that of Paul in the Corinthian church, might be thus explained. We then pointed out that the assumption of this authorship seems to be somewhat confirmed by the facts that, according to the so-called Muratorian list of the canonical scriptures, Paul wrote to the Corinthians for the purpose of warning them against 'the schism of heresy,' and that, according to the Epistle of the Roman Clement to the Corinthians, this church had fallen a second time into a schism which, from what he writes, we may perhaps be permitted to assume was of a similar nature to the first. This latter supposition will be rendered more probable by our reference to the Ignatian epistles.

We then pointed out that Paul's later epistles, perhaps all excepting the first four, seem to be written for the purpose of combating, more or less directly, such and similar heretical doctrines about the person of Christ and his relation to God the Father; and that whilst engaged in such warfare, a nearer approach seems to have been effected between Paul and the Palestinian apostles, especially with Peter. Although this joint action with the original Apostles, and particularly the martyrdom of Peter and Paul about six years before the destruction of

Jerusalem, did to a great extent remove the objections at first raised against Paul and his teaching, as is proved by the Epistle of Clement and by the Ignatian epistles, yet before the middle of the second century, the influence which Paul's doctrine had acquired in the Roman church greatly diminished. Thus Hermas, the author of 'the Shepherd,' held, as we have seen, views much more in accordance with those expressed by James, the brother of the Lord and first president of the Apostles at Jerusalem, than with those of Paul's 'other Gospel.' But what is more remarkable is this, that notwithstanding his more Judaising than Paulinic Christianity, the Roman Hermas directly opposes the views erroneously assumed to be sanctioned in the Epistle to the Hebrews, and which were contained in that attributed to Barnabas, about the person of Christ, and his relation with the Spirit proceeding from God, and thus with God the Father himself. The writings of the Simonians and the Epistle of Barnabas we have designated as the earliest known exponents of doceticism, the cardinal doctrine of the gnostics in the second century. We have now more fully to explain this our assertion.

Of the Christian gnosis in general, it suffices for the purpose we have in view briefly to recapitulate that it consisted in the revelation of the developed and applied principles of Jewish reform, of the secret doctrine or Hidden Wisdom, of those pre-Christian apocryphal doctrines, the first national development of which we have traced back to the time of the Babylonian captivity. In its original form, and in its general sense, the Christian gnosis consisted in a more spiritual interpretation of the scriptures forming the recognised canon. So long as these scriptures were held in reverence, not only because of their inspired contents, but as divinely inspired to the very letter, the fusion of the new principles of Jewish reform with the old principles of the written law was easily accomplished by means of allegorical interpretation.

Christian
gnosti-
cism.

CHAP.
VIII

We have seen, however, that the Greek canon of Alexandria, the Septuagint, is a standing memorial of the more or less systematic modifications and additions, which were deemed necessary to the received text of the Hebrew or Palestinian canon. A new set of scriptures were added, which contained the new principles of that reform which the national Israelitic faith had undergone during the Babylonian captivity. It was after having been for some time kept in secret and in darkness through verbal tradition, that those scriptures were on Egyptian soil brought to light, which the Jews in Alexandria recognised as the best exponents of the apocryphal or Hidden Wisdom. These apocryphal writings formed the very centre of the Septuagint translation, or rather of the Greek version of the Hebrew canon. They formed then and there the very standard of the faith. And, accordingly, numerous and important alterations were effected in the most ancient and most revered records of the chosen people, with a view, apparently, of harmonising them with the apocryphal Scriptures, as the exponents of the principles of a deeper and more perfect knowledge or gnosis.

But already in the last pre-Christian period, neither the modification nor the allegorical interpretation of the sacred text satisfied the mind of the enquiring Israelites. They searched the Scriptures diligently and reverently, not as the stereotyped record of an absolutely supernatural, and therefore infallible revelation, but rather as the good deposit of revealed truths, conveyed through the medium of mystical hieroglyphics. In the simplicity of their faith, in the genuineness of their reverential feelings, they deemed it impossible that the new light revealed to them should not have been revealed to such men of God as Moses and David. The reformed or gnostic Israelite believed that such chosen men must have been commanded to hide the full light of Divine truth for a while from the people, because they could not then have borne the

sight of it. Was not the Shechina enveloped by a cloudy covering? And was not Moses obliged to cover his face when he approached the people after having left the Divine presence? That veil has since been gradually and partly removed, and ere long a prophet like Moses is to come, from whose face the full glory of the Lord may shine forth as the unspotted mirror, as the image of the everlasting light. That prophet, the Messiah, will reveal the 'dark sayings of old,' 'the mystery which was kept secret since the world began.'¹

CHAP.
VIII.

Such may have been at the time of Christ's advent the expectations of the more enlightened minds among the Israelitic community in Egypt, and, to a lesser extent, even in Palestine, under the light-excluding sway of the Sadducees and Pharisees. Those who had been instructed in the principles of the Hidden Wisdom would eagerly listen to the words spoken by John the Baptist and by Jesus of Nazareth. They had been led to understand that the second Moses and the second David, whether identical or not with the second Joshua and the second Solomon, needed not to be a carnal descendant of the house of David, nor be born in Bethlehem, the city of David. They would expect of Him that should come a revelation, a confirmation, a development, and, above all, a practical application of the principles of the Hidden Wisdom. Knowing that the promulgation of the secret doctrine of their fathers was strictly forbidden in Palestine, and that the Hebrew canon was a living protest against any further innovations of the national faith, the disciples of Jewish reform in and out of the Holy Land would understand the hidden meaning of the parables spoken by Christ. By His person they would feel themselves attracted like the iron by the magnet. They would join Him as His disciples, they would hear Him expound the Hidden Wisdom, they would see Him exemplify the same; if need be, they would come to Him even by night for fear of the

¹ Rom. xvi. 25; Ps. xlix. 4; lxxviii. 2; Mat. xiii. 35.

CHAP.
VIII.

Jews ; they would devoutly listen to the words which He spoke to them 'in secret and in darkness;' they would learn to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven ; they would treasure up His words in their believing hearts ; they would feel convinced that He spoke as no other man spoke ; that He was not merely the Son of Man but the Son of God ; that He was born of God ; that He hears His words and performs His works ; they would say one to another, 'we have found Him, of whom Moses in the law, and the prophets, did write, Jesus of Nazareth, the Son of Joseph . . . we have found the Messias, the Christ.'¹

The true disciples of apocryphal tradition would not regard the cross of Christ either as a stumbling-block or as foolishness. They would recognise in the crucified Christ the fulfilment of the Messianic prophecy recorded by the great unknown prophet of the Babylonian captivity.² They would no longer seek after wisdom, for they 'have found' the incarnate word, the personified wisdom and power of God. After he was taken from them, they might regard Paul as 'the other comforter,' the other advocate or witness of the Spirit of truth, of that Spirit which was in Jesus. They would become Paul's disciples. They would 'leave behind the elementary doctrine of Christ,' contained in the published original but incomplete gospel of the twelve Apostles, and they would 'press forward towards the more perfect,'³ to the 'other' gospel first preached by Paul, that is to the knowledge or gnosis of the secret hidden or apocryphal doctrine of the Lord. If so, Christian gnosticism in its purest sense was the deeper and more perfect knowledge of the Hidden Wisdom of Christ, which was first publicly proclaimed to the world by the Apostle of the Gentiles.

Already during the lifetime of the great Apostle of Jesus Christ, the necessary reaction against Jews and Judaisers led to extremes, to anti-Christian doctrines, to a spreading

Anti-
Christian
Gnosti-
cism

¹ John i. 45, 41.

² Is. liii.

³ Heb. vi. 1.

of the schism of docetic heresy, which originated, as we shall show, with Simon Magus. Not satisfied with having protested against the carnal views of the Jews about Davidic descent, some went so far as to assert that Jesus was without descent of any kind, that he was not made according to the law of carnal commandment, that he had neither father nor mother, that he was an high priest not chosen from among men, that the perfect incarnation of the Spirit was not a real incarnation, that the Shechina had appeared in the veil of the flesh, as formerly in the veil of the cloud. According to the teachers of this docetic gnosticism, of this Alexandrian philosophy, of the science falsely so called, spirit and matter were conceived as distinct but co-eternal ingredients. Between the two there must ever be a great gulf. God, being a Spirit, cannot be mixed up with the flesh. He has in all ages manifested His glory, not face to face, but as through a glass, dimly, behind the screen of a cloud. And now in the fulness of time He has appeared in the veil of the flesh, not of real flesh, but of apparent flesh. Even the casket containing the jewel, the apparently earthen vessel of the heavenly treasure, had been supernaturally prepared by God alone, it was not matter and spirit, but spirit only.

The records of Simon's doctrine, which we shall soon consider, and the Epistle of Barnabas, prove that docetism was preached during the apostolic age. Whoever proclaimed the same was the common enemy of Paul and of all the Apostles; he was the spirit of Antichrist which denied 'that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh.'¹ Between the doctrine as contained in the above-quoted writings, and the doctrine of Marcion in the middle of the second century, there is no essential difference as regards the person of Christ.² In order to trace the principal phases of docetic development, even in a brief sketch like the present, the doctrine of the leading known gnostics who preceded the famous Marcion of Sinope must be cursorily

¹ 1 John iv. 3.² See 'Marcion' and 'The Preaching of Peter.'

CHAP.
VIII.

referred to, at least as far as it concerns the supposed relations between God, Christ and humanity.

Cerinthus of Egypt, a gnostic who probably belongs to the first century, promulgated the following doctrine about Christ.¹ The Son of the highest God descended in the form of a dove on the Man Jesus during his baptism, and having enabled him to proclaim the unknown Father, Christ left Jesus, and whilst the latter suffered, the former did not suffer. We see, then, that Cerinthus regards the Spirit as the Son of the highest God, and that he thereby implies that he was a disciple of Philo of Alexandria, who taught about the Word as the second God. The Divine Spirit from above was conceived as visibly conveyed to the Man Jesus through the medium of something in the form of a dove. The anointed man did not suffer so long as the Holy Ghost remained with him. It left him before his crucifixion; and thus Cerinthus would explain the words of Christ on the cross: 'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?'² This part of the doctrine of Cerinthus is therefore similar to that allegorically expounded in the Shepherd of Hermas. Divinity is added to and engrafted upon humanity.

But whereas Cerinthus fully acknowledged the human personality of Jesus, he as plainly excluded the doctrine of the incarnation of the Divine Word. For Irenæus writes: 'According to no one saying of the heretics the Word of God is made flesh.'³ Of course he knew nothing of a personality of the Holy Ghost, whose perfect human organ Jesus was, the latter *as such* being the Christ. In this respect Cerinthus is clearly a disciple of Paul, who declares that the 'natural' was first, and then that which is 'spiritual.'⁴

Another gnostic of whose views with regard to the person of Christ we have some knowledge, is *Basilides*,

¹ For this and the following see the full account in Baur's 'Christenthum der drei ersten Jahrhunderte,' 1860.

² Mat. xxvii. 46.

³ Ad. Haer. iii. 11, 3.

⁴ 1 Cor. xv. 46.

who is stated to have lived in Alexandria about the year 125 A.C. He defines Christ to have been 'the Son of Mary,' without insisting either on his supernatural birth, or on his personal existence before the days of his flesh. His doctrine about the person of Christ may therefore have in so far resembled the Paulinic doctrine, as he recognised both the human and the divine nature of the Lord.

This he did to that extent, that although he regarded all suffering as an evil and as a consequence of sin, yet he did not shrink from including Jesus in the number of those who had to suffer because they were men. His 'Evangelion' has, after the words of Hippolytus, been defined as 'the gradual manifestation of the divine principle of life among the Æons and in the universe. . . He believed that Jesus was the Christ, and the incarnate manifestation of the Eternal Word, although he seems not to have thought that St. Luke's account of the incarnation implied a preternatural procreation. . . He considered the history of mankind as one great manifestation of the progressive divine principle.'¹ Accepting this as the view of Hippolytus, we must not forget that, according to the school of Basilides, this gnostic himself taught of Christ's having transformed Simon of Cyrene for the purpose of letting the latter be crucified instead of himself.² If Basilides taught this he was clearly a docetic gnostic, which Eusebius indirectly implies him to have been as disciple of Menander and Simon.

Saturninus, the contemporary of Basilides, is by Irenæus stated to have been a disciple of Menander; and the few extracts which the latter gives us of his writings fully confirm this statement about his connection with Menander and Simon, and thus with their docetic tenets. Saturninus wrote, that 'the Saviour (was) not born, not corporeal and without form, but was supposed (to have had) a human countenance.'³

¹ Bunsen's 'Christianity and Mankind,' i. 116, 117.

² Neander, 'Gnost. Systeme,' pp. 70, 85.

³ Ad. Haer. i. 24, 2.

CHAP.
VIII.

Valentinus, who in the year 140 left Alexandria for Rome, positively insists on the recognition that Christ was not born *of* but *by* or *through* Mary, and this in an exclusively supernatural manner, so that his birth, like his entire existence in the flesh, was little more than an optical delusion.¹ Yet according to *Valentinus*, what was denied was only the humanity, not the corporeal individuality of Christ. He recognised the 'body' of Jesus, 'the new man,' and though he wrote mystically about 'the constitution of his body,' yet he insisted upon it that the Holy Ghost or Spirit, 'which is the Divine Spirit, . . . provided the substance.' It is but a consequence of this mystic view of Christ's humanity, that among the *Valentinian* school two different opinions prevailed, as to whether the Holy Spirit descended upon the Man Jesus during his baptism, as the *Italic* school taught, or whether according to the *Eastern* school the Holy Spirit had descended upon Mary. The latter opinion only seems to accord with the principles of the founder of this sect.

These anti-Christian views, which all seem to have originally emanated from Egypt, received their highest development by *Marcion of Sinope*, whose influence became paramount in Rome between the years 138 and 150 A.C. According to *Marcion*, Christ's appearing in the flesh was a mere phantom, a ghostly apparition of unusually long duration. Christ was taught to have been neither the Son *of* Mary nor *by* Mary, but to have descended direct from heaven in the garb of the flesh, in the celestial body which God had prepared.

Docetic gnosticism is generally supposed not to have existed, even in its germ, before the second century, and the origin of a fully developed Christian gnosticism has hitherto been left more or less unexplained, its existence even in the beginning of the second century being denied by all theologians.² Yet we hope to have proved at least

¹ *Comp. Clem. Al. Str.* iii. 7, 451.

² See, however, *Bunsen's 'Christianity and Mankind,'* where the contrary view is maintained.

the probability that docetic gnosticism was a necessary consequence of the mixing up of Alexandrian philosophy with that apocryphal gnosticism which received its fullest development and application from Christ himself, who taught in secret the doctrines openly proclaimed in the first place by Paul, and at a later period by other Apostles. Unless it can be proved that no passages in the Alexandrian Epistle to the Hebrews can by interpretation be assimilated to the doctrines of Simon Magus and of Marcion; unless a better reason can be assigned for the separation of the Apollos-party from that of Paul, and also for the fact that during the first centuries the Latin church did not acknowledge the above Epistle, the relations between gnosticism and doceticism may be explained in the manner which we have suggested.

Simon Magus.

We have already referred¹ to the testimony of Hege-
sippus, according to which the Church continued as a
pure and uncorrupt virgin until the time of Trajan
(98-117), whilst those who attempted to pervert the
sound doctrine of the gospel by 'the gnosis, falsely so
called,' were 'yet skulking in the dark retreats.'² This
statement is of the utmost importance, for it confirms
in the first place the fact that Paul, who had openly
preached the gnosis of the Hidden Wisdom, or the secret
doctrine of Christ, was not regarded as a preacher of the
falsely so-called gnosis, which was but secretly propounded
by those who, until more than thirty years after the
Apostle's death, are described as having been skulking in
the dark retreats. In the second place, this passage from
the writings of Hegesippus confirms the fact that at the
end of the first, or at the very beginning of the second
century, when the Roman Clement warned the Corin-
thians against the schism in their Church, 'the conspiracy

Origin of
Heresies.

¹ 'The Gospel revealed to Paul,' p. 113.

² H. E. iii. 32.

CHAP.
VIII.

of impious error began' through the fraud and delusion of 'false teachers.' It is clear that Hegesippus does not deny the existence, or even the secret promulgation of heresy in earlier times, but that he merely records the openly established heretical opposition in the metropolitan church at Jerusalem, to have begun after the death of the Apostles. It was in the time of Trajan that these 'false teachers' felt themselves strong enough to attempt to set up, even at Jerusalem, a bishop of their own party. If these false teachers, the propagators of a false gnosis, had not begun their undermining work during the apostolic period, it would be quite inexplicable how they could have possessed so much influence immediately after the death of the Apostles.

The attempt to set up a false Christianity in Jerusalem failed; and we gather from the statements of Hegesippus and Epiphanius,¹ that these false gnostics tried to establish themselves in Asia and in Rome. This account is fully confirmed by the career of the acknowledged leaders of the gnostics in the beginning of the second century, that is by Basilides, Saturninus, Valentinus, and Marcion. The latter was born in Sinope, and went to Rome in the first year of the Emperor Titus Antonius, that is in the year 38 of our era,² when Hyginus was bishop of the new metropolis of Christendom. This is the time immediately following upon Adrian's reign, during which, according to a passage in the writings of Clement of Alexandria,³ the heresy was established (in Rome). Now, under Hyginus, as Eusebius informs us, 'Valentinus, the founder of a peculiar heresy, and Cerdon, the leader in the errors propagated by Marcion, were both notorious at Rome,' according to the testimony of Irenæus, the associate of Polycarp, Marcion's great antagonist.⁴

Of this same 'Cerdon, who preceded Marcion,' Irenæus

¹ xxx. 18.

² See Hilgenfeld's 'Kanon,' p. 235.

³ Str. vii. 17, p. 764.

⁴ H. E. iv. 10.

writes, that he 'derived his first impulse from the followers of Simon.'¹ This statement, which implies that Simon was the author of all heresy, is confirmed by Eusebius, who writes, that when Philip the deacon, before Paul's conversion, went down to Samaria, and, 'filled with Divine power, first proclaimed the Divine Word to the inhabitants of that place, . . . so greatly did the Divine grace cooperate with him, that even Simon Magus, with a great number of other men, were attracted by his discourses; but Simon had become so celebrated at that time, and had such influence with those that were deceived by his impostures, that they considered him the great power of God.'² This statement is in fact the same which is recorded in the Acts.³ Simon Magus was born either at Gitton in Samaria, according to Justin Martyr, or at Citium in Cyprus, if the account of Josephus⁴ about a reputed magician refers to him. According to the Clementine Homilies,⁵ Simon was probably educated at Alexandria, that is at the very place to which we have traced the origin of docetic or anti-Christian gnosticism; and we shall see that during the second century Simon was regarded at Rome as the father of heresies, where he may have been more than once, and where he suffered death. Thus Marcion's heresy is directly connected with the person of Simon Magus. This connection of Simon with Alexandria and with Marcion's doctrine is no slight confirmation of our supposition that the doceticism of Marcion originated in Alexandria. His gnosis was a false one, and not the gnosis of Christ. Yet he 'even pretended faith in Christ,' and was baptised; and he, as well as his followers, were 'called Christians.' Thus these heretics, 'after the manner of their founder, insinuated themselves into the Church, like a pestilential and leprous disease, (and) infected those with the greatest corruption into

¹ H. E. iv. 11.² Acts viii. 5, 10-24; comp. John iv. 5.³ ii. 22. See 'The Preaching of Peter.'⁴ H. E. ii. 1.⁵ Ant. xx. 7.

CHAP.
VIII.

whom they were able to infuse their *secret*, irremediable, and destructive poison.' ¹

Eusebius further writes as follows about 'the malignant spirit of iniquity' then spreading. 'Intent upon every course, he instigated these insidious impostors and deceivers, by assuming the same name with us (Christians), to lead those believers whom they happened to seduce to the depths of destruction, and by their presumption also turn those that were ignorant of the faith from the path that led to the saving truth of God.' Hence a certain double-headed and double-tongued serpentine power, proceeding from that Menander whom we have already mentioned as the successor of Simon, produced two leaders of different heresies: Saturninus, a native of Antioch, and Basilides, of Alexandria. The former of these established schools of impious heresy in Syria, the latter in Egypt. Irenæus, indeed, states that in most respects Saturninus held the same false doctrine with Menander, but that Basilides, under pretext of matters too deep to be divulged, stretched his inventions to a boundless extent in his astonishing fictions of impious heresy. ²

The above description of the origin of heresy in the apostolical times is, as we have tried to prove, not contradicted but confirmed by Hegesippus. The followers of Simon Magus, or, as we shall presently show, the docetic gnostics, secretly promulgated their doctrines during the apostolic period of the Church, and in the time of Trajan formed an open 'conspiracy' against the apostolic doctrine. Eusebius seems indirectly to refer to the essential identity of the 'conspiracy of Simon' with the 'conspiracy' in the time of Trajan. ³

And what Irenæus says about the doctrine of Cerdon, and thus also about the doctrine of Simon Magus, confirms our assertion, that in the time of the Apostles, Simon was a promulgator of that docetic doctrine which

¹ H. E. ii. 1, 13; iv. 11; iii. 26; comp. Clem. Alex. Str. ii. 11, p. 383.

² H. E. iv. 7.

³ H. E. ii. 14.

was probably of Alexandrian origin, and which received its fullest development by Marcion. Irenæus writes, that Cerdon taught 'that the God who had been proclaimed by the law and the prophets was not the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, for the latter was revealed, the other was unknown; the former also was just, but the other was good.'¹ We shall later show that this doctrine, which is likewise in the homilies attributed to Simon Magus,² was the necessary consequence of the docetic doctrine which is better known to us through Marcion.

According to Clement of Alexandria the followers of Simon worshipped 'the standing One,' or Him who has been called into existence, that is, as we shall later show, not the Father but the visible manifestation of the Divine power, the incarnation of the same; therefore essentially what the Christians worshipped in Christ, and it was their aim to become like him,³ whilst the Eutychians were a branch of the Simonians.⁴ There existed in the second century writings which were attributed to Simon, and in the lately discovered *Philosophumena* of Origen⁵ we find not only an exposition of his doctrinal system, but also passages quoted from a scripture rightly or wrongly attributed to Simon himself. Unless we at once assume this Simonian Scripture not to have been written either by himself or by one of his disciples, or by his school, these quotations force us to believe that Simon Magus, notwithstanding his erroneous views about Christianity, recognised the apostolic teaching in general. For the passage quoted from this Simonian source contains a quotation from Paul's Epistles,⁶ and also from Matthew's and Luke's Gospels.⁷ From these quotations we may assume that Simon, or at least one of his followers, being 'judged' by his or their fellow-Christians, referred to the words of the great Apostle: 'But when we are judged, we are chastened of the Lord,

¹ II. E. iv. 11. ² xvi. 21. ³ Str. ii. 11, p. 383. ⁴ Str. vii. 17, p. 765.

⁵ Phil. vi. p. 160 f.

⁶ Phil. vi. 13, p. 167; comp. 1 Cor. xi. 32.

⁷ p. 171; Mat. iii. 10; Luke iii. 9.

CHAP.
VIII.

that we should not be condemned with the world.' Having quoted this passage in self-defence, the Simonians, if not Simon himself, seem to have accused those that judged him or them, that they ought not, like the Pharisees and Sadducees, to say within themselves: We have Abraham to our Father; but that even then the axe was laid unto the root of the trees, and that 'every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down and cast into the fire,' or that every plant which God has not planted shall be rooted up.¹

These are the two biblical quotations in a scripture of the Simonians, which even if not written by Simon himself, can hardly have been written later than at the end of the first century, and therefore a hundred years before Irenæus, and about fifty years before Justin Martyr, who are the earliest writers who refer to Simon. The gospel quotation clearly proves, what is otherwise known, that the Simonians were decidedly anti-Judaic. And if we bear in mind that those opponents of the doctrine of Simon, to whom Christ's words were addressed, may have been 'the chief of the Jews' in the Roman church, who prevented Paul's liberation, then we can well understand what reception awaited Simon in Rome, even on account of his views about the validity of the law.

Before we proceed to prove our assertion that Simon is the earliest known representative of docetic Christianity, we must refer to the principal charges brought against him at different times. In the first place he was, or was supposed to be, a magician.² This may have originally only meant that he had in an especial degree the gift of healing, and that he may have driven out devils in the same manner as Christ and some of his contemporaries did, that is through the Spirit, or 'by the finger of God.'³ As in the days of

¹ Mat. xv. 13.

² May this charge not have originated in his name Magus, and may he not originally have been called Magnus? According to the Acts he gave himself out as some 'great' one.

³ Luke xi. 19, 20.

Christ, the Jews in the days of Simon would insist that this was done by Beelzebub the prince of the devils. It is only thus that we can explain how 'from the least to the greatest' all the Samaritans said of Simon : 'This man is the great power of God.' For the power of God was but another expression for the Spirit of God, as we have seen ; and since Christ had performed such miracles as 'the power of God,' the influence of which he communicated 'by the finger of God,' so would Simon be by many regarded as an impersonification or advocate (paraclete) of the Divine Spirit. This is confirmed by Jerome, who writes that Simon called himself the other comforter and advocate, the paraclete.¹ If he was by many believed to be a special instrument of the Divine Spirit, this would suffice to charge him with bewitching the people, even if he did not mix up his acts of healing 'with sorceries,' which we are told he did before he became a Christian. It ought also to be observed that according to the general prejudice among the people, even in Palestine, acts of healing were rendered more efficacious by an outward application of materials, which in themselves were powerless. Thus even Christ condescended to make 'clay of the spittle,' and to anoint the eyes of the blind man with the clay.² Simon believed in the preaching of Philip, was baptised and followed the deacon, and from this time we hear no more of his sorceries, so that we may assume that his recorded desire to receive the Holy Ghost from the Apostles by imposition of hands, and his readiness even to pay money for this favour, may have been a proof of his determination to lay aside his sorceries, although, as Peter told him, his heart was not yet right in the sight of God. This sin of having offered money for the receiving of the Holy Ghost, Peter said might be forgiven him, but he was to repent and pray to God, inasmuch as he was 'in the gall of bitterness and in the bond of iniquity.' Most touching is the faith expressed by Simon : 'Pray ye to the Lord for me, that none of these

¹ Com. in Mat. xxiv. 5.² John ix. 6.

CHAP.
VIII.

things which ye have spoken come upon me.' The man who spoke thus cannot have been far from the kingdom of God. But he spoke against the continued validity of the law; he declared, according to the homilies, that Christ had appeared to him in visions; and he did not lay his doctrine before James, the head of the Apostles at Jerusalem, nor did he ask him for credentials as a teacher. This was sufficient for the Judaisers not to recognise him.¹ And their opposition to him would be deemed all the more necessary since he taught an apocryphal or secret doctrine, which was certainly not in *all* points different from that secret doctrine of Christ which the Apostles continued to hide from the people. Simon, as a man and as a successful teacher, may therefore be regarded, notwithstanding his errors, as the forerunner of Paul.

Already in the time of Justin Martyr, less than half a century after the probable time of Simon's death, his history was enveloped in such mystery by the most incredible fables, that all the accounts which are later than those in the Acts, cannot be at all relied upon. The same Justin who implicitly believes, or wishes to be believed, the legend about the miraculous composition of the Septuagint by seventy men in solitary confinement, whose cells he was taken to see,² insists upon it that Simon Magus was worshipped as a god by the Romans. He writes:³ 'Even after the ascension of Christ unto heaven, the evil spirits have put forward certain men, who said that they were gods, and these men were so far from being persecuted by you, that they were thought worthy even of honours. For instance there was one Simon, a Samaritan, from a village named Gitton, who under Claudius Cæsar performed magical wonders in your imperial city of Rome, through the art and agency of evil spirits, and was regarded as a god, and had a statue erected to him among you. This statue stood by the River Tiber, between the two bridges, having

¹ 2 Cor. iii. 1; x. 12-18; v. 12.² Coh. ad Græc. p. 34.³ See Chevallier's translation, 2nd ed. p. 176.

upon it this Latin inscription : *Simoni Deo Sancto.*' It is astounding how any lover of truth can still hesitate to denounce this fable. In the year 1574 a stone was dug up in the island of the Tiber, which is situated between the two bridges, bearing the inscription '*Semoni Sanco Deo Fidio,*' &c., clearly referring to the Sabine deity '*Sancus Semo.*'¹ It is certainly almost incredible that such a statement should have been made by a learned man like Justin, though he was by birth a Samaritan, and that he should have done so in an elaborate apology of Christianity presented to the Roman Emperor Antoninus Pius. But the man who could say he believed the legend about the Septuagint was quite capable of making such an erroneous statement, which on his authority Epiphanius and Irenæus,² Tertullian,³ and Eusebius,⁴ repeat, though Hippolytus does not refer to it in his long exposition on Simon Magus. According to Epiphanius, the translators were separated in pairs, in thirty-six cells, and were assisted by two scribes in the production of what he characterises as the result of 'the gift of the Holy Spirit.'⁵ And yet Jerome in his detailed account of the origin of the Septuagint says nothing about cells or inspiration.⁶ But he states that there existed as many different texts as manuscripts of holy writ.

It is probable that what Justin further states about Simon and Helena is no more than an allegory, that is a myth then circulating at Rome. He writes : 'And almost all the Samaritans, and some also in other nations, confess him to be the first of the gods, and even worship him ; and say that a certain Helena, who travelled with him at that time, and formerly had been a prostitute, was the first intelligence which proceeded from him.' It is needless to consider what Irenæus and others after him write about Simon, since long before the end of the second century the real history of the father of all heresies had ceased to

¹ Apol. i. 26 ; Ovid, Fast. vi. 214.³ Ap. xiii.⁵ De Pond. et Mens. c. 3, 4.² Haer. i. 20.⁴ H. E. ii. 13.⁶ Praef. ad Pent.

CHAP.
VIII.

be known, or had been purposely illustrated by legends of every kind. But the discovery of a genuine writing of Hippolytus, bishop of Portus or Ostia near Rome, since the year 218, has led to a somewhat clearer knowledge of Simon's doctrine.¹ Here the principal book of Simon's doctrine is mentioned under the title of 'the great announcement;' and whilst some passages seem to imply that it was written by himself,² others, containing quotations from Empedocles, prove its later origin, at least in the form transmitted to us. Since Irenæus, as well as Hippolytus, have evidently had this Simonian work before them when writing their works against the heresies, although Irenæus does not quote it, it is idle to suppose that a work purporting to contain Simon's doctrines may have been nothing more than a fiction, composed in the second century or earlier. If the book of the Simonians did not contain some of Simon's writings, which it is impossible to prove or disprove, at least it must have been written by one of his leading disciples, such as Menander, of whom Justin writes, that he, being a disciple of Simon, and likewise a Samaritan, who had received 'power from the evil spirits,' did deceive many at Antioch. He adds that in his time there were '*still* some of his sect who profess to believe' in his doctrines. From this it necessarily follows, that up to about the year 139, when Justin has probably written his great apology, Menander was the leader of the Simonians, and that he must have lived in the first century. This is confirmed by the fact that Menander, according to Eusebius, '*succeeded* Simon Magus.'³ He is reported to have been a writer, and it is highly improbable that he should not have written down the doctrines of his master, supposing the latter not to have done so himself. For Saturninus of Antioch, and Basilides of Alexandria, are mentioned by Eusebius as the direct disciples of Menander, and the latter as having written twenty-four books. Had the Simonians

¹ Bunsen's 'Christianity and Mankind,' i. 350 f.

² p. 173, &c.

³ H. E. iii. 26.

and their followers not possessed written expositions of their doctrines, which at first they kept secret,¹ there would have been no need for 'written demonstrations against the prevailing heretical impieties.'² It must, therefore, be conceded as nearly certain that the doctrinal exposition of the Simonians to which Hippolytus directly and Irenæus indirectly refer, that is 'the great announcement,' was written by Menander, and possibly in part by Simon the 'great one,' as a compendium of secret doctrine.

Although, like Irenæus,³ Justin, Tertullian,⁴ and Epiphanius,⁵ even Hippolytus refers to the mythical allegory of Simon and Helena, yet he implies that the charge is wrongly preferred against the Simonians, of their worshipping two images, representing Simon and Helena under the likeness of Jove and Minerva, and of their calling them 'Lord' and 'Lady.' For Hippolytus states, that those who did so were excluded by the Simonians from their sect. It has long been established,⁶ that by this allegory the union of the Divine Wisdom, Power or Spirit with Simeon, was mystically implied. The Divine Wisdom (Helena) having first descended into the lower regions, Simon appears to loosen the fetters of the same and to cause her return. All we can derive from this legend is, that Simon not only taught, but applied to himself, the apocryphal pre-Christian doctrine of the Saviour in all ages, which he seems, as we shall see, to have developed according to Philonian principles.

It is of the highest importance that the discovery of the work of Hippolytus has led to the right interpretation of one of the most remarkable sayings of Simon transmitted to us. 'Angels have administered the world badly, in consequence of their love of power; Jesus came (as Simon said) for the work of restoration, having been transformed, and made like to the principalities and

¹ Basilides 'enjoins upon his followers a silence of five years.' H. E. iv. 7.

² H. E. iv. 7.

³ Haer. i. 20.

⁴ De An. c. 34.

⁵ Haer. xxi.

⁶ Baur's 'Gnosis,' 305 f.

CHAP.
VIII.

powers and to the angels. *He thus appeared as a man, not being such, and seemed to suffer in Judea, although he did not really suffer*, but was manifested to the Jews as the Son, in Samaria as the Father, among the other nations as the Holy Spirit. He allows men to call him by whichever name they please.¹ This interesting passage has been thus interpreted.² 'How could Simon say of himself that he had suffered death in Judea? The whole account therefore refers to Jesus, and gives, originally at least, Simon's doctrine on the appearance, life and sufferings of Christ. Thus that mysterious saying about the Son, Father, and Spirit becomes intelligible. Jesus did call himself the Son in Judea; to the Samaritans he manifested the Father; and indeed in the word spoken to the Samaritan woman,³ Jesus refers them to the Father and the worship of the Father, and nothing is said about the Son. It is also quite intelligible how Simon could say, that Jesus appeared among the Gentiles as the Holy Spirit; for it was under the authority of the Holy Spirit, poured out upon them, and communicated by them, that the Apostles preached Jesus among the Gentiles.' To this we would add, that the Apostle of the Gentiles not only was a special organ or advocate of the Holy Spirit, but that he identified Christ with the Spirit of God.

The same author writes: 'The discovery of Hippolytus' work throws also a new light upon an obscure point of the Ignatian controversy. We certainly must ascribe to pure Simonism, that is to the Simonian heresy unmixed with Valentinianism, the system of gnostic evolutions, of which *Sigê*, silence, is a primitive element.⁴ For in the extracts from the 'Great Announcement' we

¹ Philos. p. 175, 24.² Bunsen's 'Christianity and Mankind,' i. 352 f.³ John iv. 21-23.⁴ It is worthy of remark that this Simonian doctrine of the aboriginal silence can be traced back to the apocryphal writings or the pre-Christian period. For in the book of Wisdom we find the following passage: 'While all things were in quiet (deep) silence, and that night was in the midst of her swift course, thine Almighty Word leaped down from heaven out of thy royal throne' (Wis. xviii. 14, 15).

find the following words, evidently the beginning of a solemn address and recapitulation.¹ 'To you, then, I say what I say, and write what I write. The writing is this: There are two offshoots accompanying all the *Æons*, having neither beginning nor end, from one root which is power (potentia), *Sigê* (silence), invisible, incomprehensible. Of these two suckers, the one appears above, and this is the Great Power, the mind of the universe, directing all things male; the other appears below, the great thought, female, producing all things. Hence, being thus ranged one against the other, they form a *syzygia* (a pair, *copula*), and make manifest the intermediate interval, the incomprehensible air, having neither beginning nor limit; and in this air is the Father, supporting all things, and nourishing that which has a beginning and end. He is He who stands, who has stood and will stand, being the male and female power, according to the infinite pre-existing power, which has neither beginning nor end, being in solitude. For the thought which was in solitude, coming forth from thence became two. And He was one, for having the thought within Himself, He was alone, not however the first, though pre-existing; but being manifested by Himself, He became the second. But neither was He called the Father, before she, the thought, called Him Father.'²

Thus we have pointed out that the doctrine of the Simonians, and therefore of Simon himself, was docetic Christianity, and that Saturninus and Basilides, contemporaries of Valentinus and of Marcion, were the direct disciples of Menander, the 'successor' of Simon. Marcion's doctrine is directly connected with that of the Simonians, since Cerdon, as we have seen, received 'his first impulse' from the Simonians, whilst being designated

¹ p. 137, 2.

² In so far this doctrine is similar to that of the Shepherd of Hermas, inasmuch as the eternal Spirit is there called the Son, whilst here the Spirit calls God 'the Father.' For further particulars respecting Simon see the chapter on the preaching of Peter.

CHAP.
VIII.

as 'the leader in the errors propagated by Marcion.' We may now proceed to show from the Epistles of Ignatius that it was this fully developed Simonian or docetic doctrine which was the only enemy of the Church in the first years of the second century, and that this anti-Christian doctrine had not at that time found its way into the Roman church, although one of the most revered scriptures of the Alexandrian church had fully developed and applied it to Christ.

*Ignatius.*Introduc-
tion.

We have seen that the pre-Christian gnosis or apocryphal knowledge was confirmed, developed, and applied by Christ, and that by the twelve Apostles the full proclamation of the same had to be checked, whilst Paul carried out the Lord's injunction to proclaim to the world what He had confided to them in secret and in darkness. We have likewise pointed out the anti-Christian development of this Christian gnosis in Alexandria, and we have traced the origin of doceticism to this source. Again, we have pointed out the possible connection between the views about the person of Christ as contained in the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the views of Marcion and the docetic gnostics who preceded him. We have referred to the probability that Apollos wrote this Alexandrian epistle, and that if so the separation of the Apollonian from the Paulinian party in the Church of Corinth would be shown to have taken place on dogmatical grounds. The probability of anti-Christian doceticism having been set up during the apostolic period is somewhat confirmed, as we have seen, by the Epistle of the Roman Clement to the Corinthians, who had again fallen into the same errors which induced Paul to write his first Epistle to them, in which, according to the so-called Muratorian list of canonical Scriptures, the Apostle warned them against 'the schism of heresy.' The merely local promulgation of this probably docetic

heresy was not only confirmed by the Epistle of Clement, but still more by the Shepherd of Hermas, written not many years after the same. Yet we must look to the Ignatian Epistles for the fuller confirmation of the assumed facts that it was the spreading of the docetic heresy which threatened to undermine historical Christianity, and that the Roman church was up to the beginning of the second century entirely free of this anti-Christian doctrine.

Independently of these weighty considerations, the Epistles of Ignatius have a claim to be considered in this our sketch about the Roman church during the first two centuries. For not only has it been rendered probable that the name of Ignatius 'must be connected with that of the old Roman family of the Egnatii';¹ but as Eusebius informs us, Ignatius 'the successor of Peter at Antioch,' was according to 'tradition, . . . sent away from Syria to Rome, and was cast as food to wild beasts, on account of his testimony to Christ.'² This tradition about the martyrdom of Ignatius is confirmed by Polycarp, his contemporary, and by Irenæus, the junior associate of the former. Polycarp is described by Irenæus himself, as 'a man who had been instructed by the Apostles, and had familiar intercourse with many that had seen Christ, and had also been appointed bishop by the Apostles in Asia.'³ And in another passage Irenæus refers to Polycarp's 'familiar intercourse with John' especially, and to his having related all things concerning Christ, 'in consistency with the holy Scriptures *as he had received them* from the eye-witnesses of the doctrine of salvation,' which things Irenæus attentively heard and noted down in his heart, though not on paper.⁴

If, then, nearly a century before Irenæus wrote this, Ignatius did himself write certain epistles which have been transmitted to us, the high interest connected with

¹ Bunsen's 'Christianity and Mankind,' i. 88.

² H. E. iii. 36.

³ H. E. iv. 14.

⁴ H. E. v. 20.

CHAP.
VIII.

these is at once explained. We shall not enter into the very debateable question of the genuineness of the Ignatian Epistles.¹ For the purpose we have in view it is not very material who wrote them, since even Polycarp and Irenæus in their writings refer to them, whilst the latter quotes a passage from the Epistle of Ignatius to the Romans, which literally corresponds with the text transmitted to us. There existed, therefore, in the end of the second century, Epistles of Ignatius, of which the correct text has been, at least in part, transmitted to us. And we are glad to record the fact, that even the most able and dispassionate defender of their non-genuineness as a whole has admitted that they might even by him be acknowledged as possibly genuine, if it could be rendered probable that the fully-developed docetic gnosticism, which the writer opposes in the greater part of his epistles, existed already in the very beginning of the second century, that is before the year 107 or 116, when the martyrdom of Ignatius took place.² We venture to hope that our new point of view with regard to the origin and development of the gnosis may tend to remove the difficulties which have hitherto prevented a general acknowledgment of the essential genuineness of the Ignatian Epistles.

We must admit, that whilst all authorities seem to agree about the direct anti-docetic tendency of the Ignatian Epistles, it has been denied by some, and not fully established by others, that the docetic development which is known to us by the Church history of the second century, has already been 'anticipated' in the first century.³ It is one of the principal objects of our investigations to render probable the assumptions that it was this docetic or Simonian doctrine which caused the separation of the party of Apollos from that of Paul in the Corinthian church, and that Clement of Rome in his Epistle to the Corinthians indirectly refers to this doctrine

¹ For the latest researches see Hilgenfeld's 'Apost. Väter.'

² Hilgenfeld, 'Apost. Väter,' p. 238 f.

³ Comp. Hilgenfeld, 'Ap. Väter,' p. 245, &c., with Bunsen's 'Christianity and Mankind.'

as to the cause of the *renewed* schism, which had already broken out in the Apostolic period, when it was, according to the Muratorian list, a 'schism of heresy,' which caused Paul to write to the Corinthians. We have supported our view by tracing the germs of docetic Christianity, if not in the Epistle to the Hebrews, certainly in that attributed to Barnabas; by trying to point out, that the Epistle of Clement may be taken to be a refutation of those parts in the above Epistles which refer, or were supposed to refer to this doctrine; by connecting the so-called Barnabas with Simon of Samaria and his followers, and thus with Marcion and his predecessors. But the culminating proof of the correctness of our assertion must be found in the Epistles of Ignatius, which were written not many years after Clement's Epistle, which refers to the far more dangerous renewal of that sedition, which Paul's authority seems to have succeeded in allaying when it first broke out. We shall now point out, that Ignatius warns some of the churches against the docetic heresy.

1. *Ephesians*. They are commended for their 'good order in God,' for living 'according to the truth,' and for their not having any 'heresy' dwelling among them, inasmuch as they do not 'hearken to any one more than to Jesus Christ,' who speaks to them 'in truth.'¹ For some there are who are wont to carry about the name (of Christ) in deceitfulness, but do things unworthy of God, whom ye must avoid, as ye would wild beasts, for they are ravening dogs, which *bite secretly*, of whom ye must beware, as of men hardly to be cured. *There is one physician, carnal and spiritual, create and uncreate, in the flesh become God, in death true life; as well from Mary as from God; first capable of suffering, then without suffering* (or "liable to suffer no more"), *even Jesus Christ our Lord.*² 'Wherefore let no man deceive you, as indeed

Ignatian
Epistles.

¹ vi.

² vii. For the translation of the last sentence compare Hilgenfeld, 'Ap. Väter,' p. 226.

CHAP.
VIII.

ye are not deceived, being wholly (the servants) of God. For when there is no contention nor strife among you, doubtless ye live according to God's will.¹ *Nevertheless* I have heard of some who have walked on sideways (or, "deviated from the road"), *having perverse doctrine*, whom ye did not suffer to sow among you, but stopped your ears, that ye might not receive those things which were sown by them.'² 'Pray also without ceasing for other men; for there is hope of repentance in them, that they may attain unto God. Suffer them, therefore, to receive instruction of you, if it be only from your works; . . . to their blasphemies (return) your prayers; to their error oppose your firmness in the faith.'³ The clear inference from these passages is, that even the Church at Ephesus was in great danger to fall into heresy. What peculiar kind of heresy the writer has in view is left doubtful in this Epistle. Yet even here, whilst promising to write more fully in another Epistle, the forcible delineation of the humanity of Christ leads us to infer that the perverse doctrine was the docetic doctrine. 'Where is the wise? Where is the disputer? Where is the boasting of those who are called men of understanding? *For our God Jesus Christ was borne in the womb of Mary, according to the dispensation of God, of the seed of David, yet by the Holy Ghost.* He was born and baptised, that through His passion He might purify water.'⁴ 'The new man . . . is Jesus Christ, . . . who was of the race of David according to the flesh, the Son of Man and the Son of God.'⁵

2. *Magnesians*.—'I salute the churches, wishing in them an union both of the body and spirit of Jesus Christ, our eternal life, . . . especially (an union) of Jesus and the Father. . . .'⁶ 'Submitting . . . to the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Bishop of us all.'⁷ 'Jesus Christ, who was with the Father before all ages, and in the end hath appeared.'⁸ 'As, therefore, the Lord did nothing

¹ viii.² ix.³ x.⁴ xviii.⁵ xx.⁶ i.⁷ iii.⁸ vi.

without the Father, being united to him, neither by himself, nor yet by his Apostles. . . . Wherefore come ye all together as unto one temple of God, as unto one altar, as unto one Jesus Christ, who proceeded from one Father, and exists in one, and is returned (to one).'¹ '*Be not deceived with strange doctrines*, nor with old fables which are unprofitable. For if we still continue to live according to the Jewish law, we acknowledge that we have not received grace. For even the most holy prophets lived according to Christ Jesus. For this cause they were persecuted also, being inspired by His grace, fully to convince the unbelievers, that there is One God, who hath manifested himself by Jesus Christ his Son, who is his eternal Word, not coming forth from silence, who in all things was well-pleasing to him that sent him.'² 'If, therefore, they who were brought up in these ancient laws have come to the newness of hope, no longer observing sabbaths, but keeping the Lord's day, in which also our life is sprung up by him, and through his death, which (yet) some deny : . . . how shall we be able to live without him, whose disciples the very prophets were, and whom by the Spirit they expected as their teacher?'³ . . . 'Lay aside therefore the evil leaven which is grown old and sour, and be changed into the new leaven, which is Jesus Christ. Be ye salted in him, lest any of you should be corrupted, for by your Saviour ye shall be judged. It is absurd to name Christ Jesus, and to be still a Jew. For Christianity believed not the Jewish religion, but the Jewish the Christian : that so every tongue that believed might be gathered together unto God.'⁴

'I know that ye are not puffed up ; for ye have Jesus Christ in your hearts.'⁵ 'Give diligence therefore to be established in the doctrines of our Lord and the Apostles, that so, whatsoever ye do, ye may prosper both in body and spirit, in faith and charity, in the Son and in the Father, and in the Spirit, in the beginning and in the

¹ vii.² viii.³ ix.⁴ x.⁵ xii.

CHAP.
VIII.

end.’¹ ‘Fare ye well in the concord of God, possessing His inseparable spirit, *which is Jesus Christ.*’²

Among the Magnesians, therefore, the danger was not doceticism, but Judaism.

3. *Trallians*.—‘I exhort you therefore, (or rather) not I, but the love of Jesus Christ, that ye use none but Christian nourishment, abstaining from all *strange pasture which is heresy.*’³ ‘Stop your ears, therefore, when any one speaks to you against Jesus Christ, who was of the race of David, of the Virgin Mary; who was truly born, and did eat and drink, was truly persecuted under Pontius Pilate, was truly crucified, and died, in the sight of those in heaven, and of those on earth, and of those under the earth. Who also was truly raised from the dead by His Father, after the same manner as He will also raise up us who believe in Him, by Christ Jesus, without whom we have no true life.’⁴ ‘But if, as some who are Atheists, that is to say unbelievers, *pretend, he suffered only in appearance,*—why then am I bound?’⁵ . . . ‘Flee therefore these evil scions, which bring forth deadly fruit, of which if any one taste, he shall presently die. For these are not plants of the Father. . . For the head cannot be without its members, God having promised an union, which is himself.’⁶

Here doceticism is clearly pointed out as the heresy which was being preached among the Trallians.

4. *Romans*.—‘To those who are united both in flesh and spirit to all his commands, and wholly filled with the grace of God, and *entirely cleansed from the stain of any other doctrine,* be all undefiled joy in Jesus Christ our God. . . . For even our God, Jesus Christ, now that He is in the Father, doth the more appear.’⁷ ‘Suffer me to enter into pure light; when I shall be there I shall be a man of God. Suffer me to imitate the sufferings of my God. If any one hath Him within himself, let him consider what I desire, and sympathise with me.’⁸ ‘My love is crucified, and in me who love there is no fire, but living water

¹ xiii.

² xv.

³ vi.

⁴ ix.

⁵ x.

⁶ xi.

⁷ iii.

⁸ vi.

springing up in me, saying within me : Come unto the Father. . . . I desire the bread of God, the heavenly bread, the bread of life, which is the flesh of Jesus Christ the son of God, who was born, in these last days, of the seed of David and Abraham ; and the drink of God which I desire is his blood, *which is* incorruptible love and eternal life.’¹ ‘And Jesus Christ will show you, that I speak truth, he who is *the mouth of the Father*, without deceit, in whom the Father speaks truly.’²

Although the Roman Church is declared to be ‘entirely cleansed’ from the stain of heretical doctrine, yet apparently for the purpose of encouraging the Romans in their efforts to put away and to ward off heresy, Ignatius forcibly insists on the reality of Christ’s humanity.

5. *Philadelphians*.—‘Wherefore, as becomes children of light and of truth, flee divisions and false doctrines. . . For many wolves, which appear worthy of belief, do through the allurements of evil pleasure lead captive those that run in the course of God.’³ ‘If any one follows him that makes a *schism*, he shall not inherit the kingdom of God. If any one walks after any *other opinion*, he *agrees not with the passion* (of Christ).’⁴ ‘Fleeing to the *Gospel as to the flesh of Jesus*, and to the Apostles as unto the presbytery of the Church.’⁵ ‘But if any one shall teach you *the Jewish law*, hear him not. For better is it to receive the law of Christ from one that is circumcised than the law of the Jews from one that is uncircumcised. But if either the one or the other do not speak concerning Christ Jesus, they seem to me but as monuments and sepulchres of the dead, upon which are only written the names of men.’⁶ ‘For although some would have deceived me according to the flesh, yet the Spirit is not deceived, being from God. For it knows both whence it comes and whither it goes, and reproves the secrets (of the heart). . . . Flee divisions ; be the followers of Christ, as he was of his Father.’⁷

¹ vii.

² viii.

³ ii.

⁴ iii.

⁵ v.

⁶ vi.

⁷ vii.

CHAP.
VIII.

‘Nevertheless, I exhort you, that ye do nothing out of strife, but according to the instruction of Christ. Because I have heard some say: Unless I find it in the ancient writings, I will not believe in the gospel. And when I said to them: It is written, they answered me, it is found written before. But to me the most ancient records are Jesus Christ; the most uncorrupted records His cross and death, and rising again, and faith in Him, by which I desire, through your prayers, to be justified.’¹

‘The priests themselves are good. But much better is the high priest, to whom only hath been committed the Holy of Holies; to whom alone have been entrusted the secret things of God. He is the door of the Father, by which enter in Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and the prophets, and the Apostles, and the Church. All these things are for the unity of God. Howbeit the gospel hath somewhat in it far above; the appearance of our Lord Jesus Christ, His passion and resurrection. For the beloved prophets referred to Him; but the gospel is the perfection of incorruption. All, therefore, together are good, if we believe with charity.’² In this Church, therefore, the schismatics were Judaisers.

6. *Smvrneans*.—‘I glorify God, even Jesus Christ, who hath given you such wisdom. For I have observed that ye are settled in an immoveable faith, nailed, as it were, to the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, both in the flesh and in the spirit, and are confirmed in love through the blood of Christ, being fully persuaded of those things which relate unto our Lord, *who was truly of the race of David* according to the flesh, (but) the Son of God according to the will and power of God, truly born of a virgin and baptised by John, that so all righteousness might be fulfilled in Him; truly crucified for us in the flesh under Pontius Pilate, and Herod the tetrarch. By the fruits of which, by His most blessed passion, we are; that He might set up a token for all ages through His

¹ viii.² ix.

resurrection, to all His holy and faithful servants, whether they be Jews or Gentiles, in one body of His church.'¹ 'Now all these things He suffered for us that we might be saved. And *He suffered truly*, as He also truly raised up Himself. And not, *as some unbelievers say that He only seemed to suffer*, they themselves only seeming to be (Christians). And as they believe so it shall happen unto them when they are divested of the body, and shall become mere spirits.'² 'For I know that even after the resurrection He was in the flesh, and believe that He is still so. And when He came to those who were with Peter, He said unto them: Take, handle me and see that I am not a spirit without a body. And straightway they touched Him and believed, being convinced both by His flesh and by His spirit. For this cause they despised death and were found above death. But after the resurrection He did eat and drink with them, although, *as to His spirit*, He was united to the Father.'³ 'Now of these things I remind you, brethren, not questioning but that ye yourselves also believe that they are so. But I forewarn you to beware of certain beasts in the shape of men, whom ye must not only not receive, but if possible not even meet with. Only ye must pray for them, that if it be the will of God they may repent; which yet will is hard. But of this Jesus Christ has the power, who is our true life. For if all these things were done by our Lord *in appearance only*, then am I bound in appearance only.'⁴ 'What doth any one profit me if he shall praise me and *blaspheme my Lord, confessing not that He was truly made flesh? how he that doth not say this, doth in effect deny Him, and is in death*.'⁵ 'I salute . . . all . . . in the name of Jesus Christ, and *in His flesh and blood; in His passion and resurrection, both fleshly and spiritually; in the unity of God with you*.'⁶ 'Be strong in the power of the Holy Ghost.'⁷

The 'unbelievers' in this Church were docetics.

7. *To Polycarp*.—'Consider the times and expect Him,

¹ i.² ii.³ iii.⁴ iv.⁵ v.⁶ xii.⁷ xiii.

CHAP.
VIII.

who is above all time, eternal, *invisible, though for our sakes made visible*; who cannot be perceived by our touch, neither is liable to suffering, although for our sakes He submitted to suffer, and endured evils of every kind for us.¹

Here, again, Ignatius insists on the incarnation of Christ, who as the Word from the beginning, as a mere essence and as not a person, cannot be seen or touched, nor can suffer. If we except the Roman church, in all other churches which Ignatius addresses, the true Christianity was opposed, either by docetics or by Judaisers. But even in his Epistle to the Romans who had been 'cleansed' of all false doctrine, he forcibly insists on the reality of Christ's humanity, as if to encourage them in their efforts to ward off the great danger of doceticism, to which so many churches were at the time exposed. Ignatius may be assumed by the word 'cleansed,' to refer to the absence of the Jewish leaven, yet he forbears, perhaps intentionally, to attribute this to the influence of Paul, of whom he thus writes to the Ephesians: 'Ye are the passage of those that are killed for God; who have been instructed *in the mysteries of the gospel* with Paul, who was sanctified and bore testimony even unto death, and is deservedly accounted most happy; at whose feet I would that I might be found when I shall have attained unto God; who throughout his Epistle makes mention of you in Christ Jesus.'² 'Of all which *nothing is hid from you* if ye have perfect faith and charity in Christ Jesus.'³ 'For this cause *did the Lord receive ointment upon His head*, that He might *breathe immortality into His church*. Be not ye therefore anointed with the evil savour of the doctrine of the prince of this world; let him not take you captive from the life that is set before you. And why are ye not all wise, seeing ye have received *the knowledge of God which is Jesus Christ*? Why do we perish in our folly, ignorant of the gift which the Lord hath truly sent us?'⁴

If about the year 107 or 116 the memory of Paul

¹ iii.² xii.³ xiv.⁴ xvii.

had been still held in such reverence as when, not many years earlier, and under the influence of Paul's martyrdom, Clement wrote his Epistle to the Corinthians, Ignatius could hardly have omitted to refer to him in his Epistle to the Romans. It would seem as if the prevailing influence in the Roman church had been not essentially different from that which caused 'the chief of the Jews' to prevent the liberation of Paul at Rome several years after he had addressed his Epistle to that church. But with regard to docetic views, they cannot have prevailed or ever been entertained in Rome up to the time of the Epistle of Ignatius. And it is, perhaps, a not unimportant coincidence, that whilst the Roman Christians were commended for their orthodoxy, that Church had up to that time not recognised the Epistle to the Hebrews, in which some may then have traced the first germs of Christian doceticism, and for which reason, perhaps, this Alexandrian Epistle was not recognised by the Latin church before the fourth century.

We are hardly justified in assuming, from Clement's reference to Paul and to his doctrine, that the latter had taken deep root in the Roman church. That Epistle may not have been much more than an individual expression of at least *one* of the leaders of that Church, whose principal object in writing to the Corinthians must have been to identify himself entirely with the great Apostle, who by his Epistles succeeded in putting an end to the schism which had broken out in that Church. That schism had been renewed, and perhaps by the same cause. Under the peace-engendering influence of Paul's martyrdom, Clement would, therefore, make the most of the Apostle, and of his doctrine, when attempting to put down the far more generally dangerous sedition which had sprung up at Corinth. If, then, at the time when Ignatius came to Rome, essentially the same influences prevailed there, which were the cause of Paul's continued imprisonment, if not indirectly of his death, the martyrdom of the Bishop

CHAP.
VIII.

of Antioch may not have been entirely opposed to the wishes of some among the leading members of the Roman church. For Ignatius had not only openly declared the divinity of Christ, but had gone even beyond Holy Writ in applying to him the epithet of 'God.' Hereby an attack was made against the Divine monarchy, which in the face of the docetic heresy must have been more than ever regarded as the bulwark of the faith, particularly by a church, the majority of whose members were probably, even at that time, Jewish or non-Paulinic Christians.

Conclu-
sion.

Ignatius is a staunch opposer of the docetic heresy, according to which, in the words of Simon the Samaritan, Christ 'appeared as a man, not being such, and seemed to suffer in Judea, although he did not really suffer.' The manner in which the Bishop of Antioch opposes this heresy leads us to infer that he was well acquainted with the above formula of the Simonian doctrine. For he repeatedly uses almost the same words when referring to the heretics of his day. In no essential point does he go beyond the doctrine of Paul. But in the face of docetic doctrines, it was not the contrast between the Divine and the human nature, but the intimate and mystic union of the two, which formed the centre of his teaching. He writes to the Ephesians: You are 'the stones of the temple of the Father, prepared for the building of God the Father, raised up on high by the engine of Jesus Christ, which is the Cross, and ye are drawn by the rope, which is the Holy Ghost, and your pulley is your faith, and your love is the way that leadeth up on high to God.'¹ Jesus Christ was lifted up like the serpent in the wilderness, as a sign of salvation, as the embodiment of the Divine Spirit, Wisdom or Word of God, 'the Saviour of all, . . . who healeth all things.'² As such he is the one Physician, or Healer, or Saviour, both 'carnal and spiritual, create and uncreate, in the flesh become God, in death true life, as well from Mary as from God.'³ As the

¹ ix. The latter part is from the Syrian text. ² Wis. xvi. ³ Eph. vii.

Incarnate Word he will draw all men after him, and this 'by the rope, which is the Holy Ghost.'

CHAP.
VIII.

Thus it is that 'Christ is the centre of the life of the Christians. All that the Christians do, as such, they do in Christ. In this progressive work of their sanctification, it is first the operation of the Father which is manifested; that is to say, the Divine purpose, through which from eternity he has called the believers to the setting up of a Divine kingdom, of the living temple of God in time, the living stones of which they are themselves. But in this work of sanctification, the work of God in man, now both the Son and the Spirit take an active part. Carrying out the above allegory, Ignatius first mentions the death of Christ, and this clearly as an atoning death. The Cross is the culminating point of that obedience of Christ, through which He, as the perfect organ of the Holy Ghost, "*became God in the flesh.*" And the rope by which men are drawn up to the Divine life to which they are called is the Holy Ghost. Now, between that eternal purpose of redemption in the Father, and this to man outward work of redemption, which has taken place in time and historically, and which Christ has sealed by his free sacrificial death, there must be a connection for every man, in which that eternal purpose shall be fulfilled, and he be made to participate in this redemption. According to Ignatius, this connection is accomplished by the Holy Ghost. For in the above allegory he calls the latter the rope through which, and through the pulley of faith, the stone is lifted up to the edifice, of which as members the believers shall form a part. . . Although we are by no means justified to conceive this Divine Spirit as different from that Spirit which was poured out on the day of Pentecost upon the assembled believers; and although we must contrariwise recognise it as the same which continually lived in the Christian church; yet it is also evident that Ignatius has conferred to it an eternal, Divine existence, and that he wishes him to be placed in

CHAP.
VIII.

the eternal nature of God. For if the individual Christ-believing soul requires of this Spirit of God, so as, freed from the fetters of selfishness, to attain to the kingdom of the Father, and to be united with God, then every communion of believers must require of the same; and this communion or community can in itself as little be regarded as the Spirit of God as it can be conceived entirely separated from the same. It will rather have to be considered as the temporal realisation of the Spirit.'¹

The same idea, though unconnected with the writings of Ignatius, is by the same writer expressed in these words. 'To assign to the life of Jesus its proper place in the history of the world, as the centre of the same, this means, if we speak in the spirit of the Bible, to recognise the period of the Son as placed in the middle between the period of the Father and that of the Spirit. The development which lies before Jesus is the entire pre-Christian history of the world. Therefore, in the first place, the Old Testament history, from Abraham to the latest witnesses of the Spirit of God among the Jews. But beyond this also, the relation of the same to the other history of the world, from Zoroaster to Socrates, among the Bactrians and Indians, Greeks and Romans, whose wise men were likewise forerunners of the gospel-tidings. That is the period of the Father. The period of the Spirit is, in the first place, that of the Apostles and of the apostolic churches, on the historical foundation of the New Testament scriptures. But already in early times, though especially in our own, several men, as organs of the free Christian Spirit, have duly discerned, or more or less proved, in the after-apostolic development the same scale or gradation which presents itself in the three pattern-Apostles, Peter, Paul, and John.'²

¹ Bunsen's 'Briefe des Ignatius,' 1847, p. 157. A slight change has been deemed necessary, inasmuch as in the German original the allegory is given and interpreted after the shorter Syrian text.

² Bunsen's 'Bibelwerk,' i., cxxxiv. According to Simon Magus, as we have seen, the Father, the Son, and the Spirit were separate though contemporaneous revelations.

If in all ages the Divine Spirit has dwelt in man, the history of mankind must show the germs of that development of God's eternal purpose which was manifested in the flesh as a mystery of godliness, in him who was 'justified in the Spirit,' or 'proved just in the Spirit.'¹ This Divine knowledge in all ages Ignatius centres in Christ. There is a true gnosis, and that is the Wisdom of Christ, who is Himself 'the Wisdom of God.' To this is opposed every other wisdom, which is but a 'wisdom falsely so called,' propagated by the disciples of abstract philosophy. They are satisfied with the idea, and cannot conceive, and therefore deny, its possible realisation in and through man. Their Christ on earth was a bodiless Spirit; it was not Christ in the flesh, not the incarnate Word; it was Christ in the veil of the flesh, without father or mother, without descent, that is, not made after the carnal commandment: 'Be fruitful and multiply.' According to the docetics in the days of Ignatius, as in the days of Simon the magician, and in the days of Apollos, the probable author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, Jesus 'appeared as a man, not being such.' And whilst Apollos admits that Christ was 'perfected through suffering,' the docetics of Ignatius further agreed with Simon the Samaritan in saying, that Jesus 'seemed to suffer in Judea, although he did not really suffer.' This was 'the schism of heresy.'²

The writer of the most ancient canonical list of the New Testament, Hegesippus, the contemporary of Ignatius, or Cajus presbyter, at all events a well-informed person belonging to the Christian church towards the end of the second century, states, as we have seen, that a 'schism of heresy' was the cause of Paul's writing to the Corinthians, where the party of Apollos had separated from the party of Paul. Against these false gnostics Paul wrote his later Epistles, and Clement wrote on a similar occasion to the Corinthians. His contemporary, Ignatius,

¹ 1 Tim. iii. 14-16.² Comp. 1 Cor. xi. 19; 2 Pet. ii. 1.

CHAP.
VIII.

leaves us no doubt that the heretical doctrine of his day was the docetic doctrine, which as far as we know was first preached by Simon, and which some may have assumed to be sanctioned by Apollos. We shall presently show that the junior contemporary of Ignatius, Justin Martyr, although at first not proclaiming that same doctrine, yet later in life succumbed under the influence of Marcion, by whom the docetic doctrine was most fully developed, and whose influence in Rome was nevertheless paramount about the middle of the second century.

The doctrine of the incarnate Word of God is by Ignatius opposed not only to the docetics and Judaisers, but also especially to that gnostic doctrine of evolutions of which silence is the primitive element, and which formed, as we have seen, part of the original docetic heresy of Simon Magus. The Simonians held, that the Father is 'the infinite, pre-existing power (or "the thought"), which has neither beginning nor end, being in solitude.' It is this doctrine which Valentinus developed after the days of Ignatius, and which the latter opposes in these words: 'There is One God, who hath manifested Himself by Jesus Christ His Son, who is His eternal word, *not* coming forth from silence, who in all things was well-pleasing to Him that sent Him.'¹ Such is the union between the Father and the Son, that the Divine 'silence' in the beginning is identified with the Divine Spirit which became incarnate in Christ, and which was with the Father even in the beginning, when He was conceived as being in solitude and silence. This conception is even confirmed by Ignatius when he writes: 'And even those things which he did in silence are worthy of the Father.'² But no silence preceded 'His eternal Word,' which although at first not a person, in the fulness of time became flesh, and thus perfectly united the 'spiritual' with the 'carnal,' the 'uncreated' with the 'created,' manifesting and being God in the flesh. It is because of

¹ Magn. viii.

² Ephes. xv.

His spiritual nature only that Jesus Christ is 'above all time, eternal.'¹ Although there is but one God, yet Jesus Christ, who, as the Son, is distinguished from the Father, is repeatedly called God by Ignatius. It is because the Spirit of Christ is one with the Spirit of the Father; it is because Christ *is* the Spirit, Wisdom or Word of God, that, notwithstanding the Son's subordination to the Father, both are one. 'There is one (Lord) Jesus Christ, than whom nothing is better. Wherefore come ye all together, as unto one temple of God, as unto one altar, as unto one Jesus Christ, who proceeded from one Father, and exists in one, and is returned (to one).'²

The development of gospel literature in the time of Ignatius can now be clearly ascertained. The original apostolic gospel-record, which contained the public sayings of our Lord, and which was already in the first century quoted as recognised 'Scripture,' is the only gospel which Ignatius can be proved to have used. But, although John's gospel is not directly referred to, there can be no doubt whatever that at least some of its contents³ were well known to the Bishop of Antioch. For instance, the expressions of Ignatius about Christ being 'the mouth of the Father,' He 'in whom the Father speaks, truly,'⁴ are so identical with the peculiar doctrine in the fourth gospel about Christ as the organ of the Divine Spirit, that it is impossible to deny at least the common origin of both doctrines. Again, in the Epistle to the Ephesians it is written: 'No man professing the true faith sins;' a passage similar to the words of John: 'Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin,'⁵ and which both stand in close connexion with the Lord's words about the sin against the Holy Ghost.⁶

In the opinion of Ignatius, the Apostles, including Paul, were regarded as especial organs of the Holy Ghost, who, as such, were peculiarly capable of holding, in the

¹ Ad. Pol. iii.² Magn. vii.³ John vi. 32-35; 57 f.⁴ Rom. viii.⁵ 1 John iii. 9.⁶ Mat. xii. 31.

CHAP.
VIII.

different Christian churches, positions similar to that which distinguished James from the other Apostles at Jerusalem. We may here at once observe, that unless James was in the time of Ignatius believed to have been at first the chief of the Apostles in the Mother-Church, a scripture which, under the title of the preaching of Peter, circulated in the second century, could not have so clearly admitted the subordination of Peter to James, which even Paul testifies.¹ Nothing, therefore, is contrary to the Roman traditions, that Peter was the first Bishop of Rome, as James was the first Bishop of Jerusalem.

Nothing can be more evident than that, according to Ignatius, the bishops were recognised as heads of the Church, because they were, or were supposed to be, especial organs of the Divine Spirit. Christ, 'the mouth of the Father,' he 'in whom the Father speaks truly,'² is 'our inseparable life ;'³ the true Christians 'possess' God's 'inseparable Spirit, *which is* Jesus Christ ;'⁴ they have received 'the knowledge of God, *which is* Jesus Christ ;'⁵ Jesus Christ, our inseparable life, 'is by the will of the Father ; as also the bishops appointed unto the utmost bounds of the earth are by the will of Jesus Christ ;'⁶ those are deemed happy who are so joined to their bishop 'as the Church is to Jesus Christ, and Jesus Christ to the Father.'⁷ Again, the Apostles and their successors 'have been instructed in the mysteries of the Gospel with Paul who was sanctified.'⁸ 'Let us, therefore, do all things as becomes those who have God dwelling in them ; that we may be His temple, and He may be our God within us.'⁹ 'For this cause did the Lord receive ointment upon His head, *that He might breathe* (the breath of) *immortality into His Church*.'¹⁰ Whilst Christ is called 'the Gospel,' the Apostles are called 'the presbytery of the Church ;' and even the prophets

¹ Gal. ii.² Rom. viii.³ Eph. iii.⁴ Magn. xv.⁵ Eph. xvii.⁶ Eph. iii.⁷ Eph. v.⁸ Eph. xii.⁹ Eph. xv.¹⁰ Eph. xvii. ; comp. John xx. 22.

believed and were saved 'in the unity of Jesus Christ,'¹ that is in the unity of the Spirit which is 'from God,' and to which unity all Christians can attain by being 'followers of Christ as He was of His Father.'² After the resurrection, when John records Christ's having communicated to His disciples the Holy Ghost, 'He did eat and drink with them, although *as to his spirit he was united to the Father.*'³ Thus where the Divine Spirit is there is Christ, and 'where Jesus Christ is there is the Catholic church.'⁴ It is because of the identity of the Spirit of Christ with the Spirit of God that Ignatius distinguishes between 'the name' or Spirit⁵ and the flesh and blood of Christ, when he salutes all 'in the name of Jesus Christ, *and* in His flesh and blood.'⁶ And whilst he urges the Smyrneans to 'be strong in the power of the Holy Ghost,'⁷ he encourages his brother-bishop Polycarp in these words: 'Be watchful, having thy Spirit always awake; speak to every one according as God shall enable thee.'⁸

If Christ communicated His Spirit, that is the Holy Ghost, to the Apostles, to whom alone He had revealed the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven; if Paul, who was also sanctified, had the Son revealed 'in' him by the Father, in the same manner as the former was by the latter revealed to Peter; if it was through the instrumentality of the Divine Spirit that the risen Christ revealed to Paul the gospel which he was to preach; if at least, seventeen years after his conversion, Paul communicated to the Apostles at Jerusalem what had been revealed to him; if they acknowledged 'the grace' that was given him, that is the effect of the operation of the Holy Ghost within him, then we may assert that God has spoken in all ages through the prophets, by His Apostles, by His Church, by His Son, that is, through the selfsame Divine Spirit, Wisdom or Word, which was in the

¹ Phil. v.⁴ Smyr. viii.⁷ xiii.² Phil. vii.⁵ See 'The Gospel after John.'⁸ Ad. Pol. i.³ Smyr. iii.⁶ Smyr. xii.

CHAP.
VIII.

beginning with the Father, whose perfect incarnate Son was Jesus Christ. This apostolic doctrine was also preached by Apollos, by the Roman Clement, by Hermas, Ignatius, and, as we shall see, by Justin Martyr.

To conclude. Ignatius must have been cognisant with the secret doctrine of Christ, not only as taught by Paul, but as it was taught by Christ Himself, and recorded, or at least communicated, by John. This fourth gospel seems, however, in his time, not yet to have ceased to be kept hidden, as we shall presently try to establish, although the contents of the same may have been verbally confided to all the bishops. In this sense only can we agree with a distinguished writer, who thus expresses himself about the relations between the doctrine of Ignatius and that contained in the first three gospels. 'The author fills the gulf between his point of view and that of the Jewish-Christian synoptic gospel-type, by ingrafting his higher ideas on the historical records which lay before him. He believes in the general truth of these his enlargements and additions, because he can only believe in Christ as the Divine Word. He believes in the gospels which he has distanced so considerably, because he believes that he reads *their true sense* in *his* enlargements of their letter. They appear to him as the letter, which is to be read with the Spirit, in order to satisfy the Spirit. This letter (of the gospel) is, however, really truth, inasmuch as it points to a spiritual deposit.' But we cannot agree with the writer when he adds: 'The Ignatian Epistles furnish us, therefore, with the result, that with the dogmatic development of Christianity in the direction of the doctrine of the Word, a transformation of evangelical history in the sense of this dogma naturally ensued.'¹ The Ignatian Epistles do not mark the transition from the composition of the first three gospels to the composition of the fourth, but the transition from the composition and publication of the former, which excluded the secret

¹ Köstlin in 'Theol. Jahrb.' 1851, p. 106.

doctrine of Christ, to the publication of the latter, which contained it.

CHAP.
VIII.

Polycarp.

The Bishop of Smyrna, who was personally acquainted with the Apostle John, has here to be considered only in consequence of his visit to Rome about the middle of the second century, which journey was undertaken for the purpose of trying to settle the paschal dispute. To this we shall fully refer in our investigation of the fourth gospel; and in the chapter on his great antagonist at Rome, Marcion of Sinope, we shall refer to the relative doctrines of both. Here we have, in the first place, briefly to point out that the Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians refers not only to Ignatius as yet living, but also to his Epistles. 'The Epistles of Ignatius which he wrote unto us' (that to Polycarp and that to the Smyrneans), 'we have sent to you, according to your order; which are subjoined to this Epistle, from which ye may be greatly profited. For they treat of faith and patience, and of all things which pertain to edification in our Lord.'¹ 'What ye know certainly of Ignatius, and those that are with him, signify unto us.'²

'I rejoiced greatly with you in our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye received the patterns of true love, and accompanied, as it behoved you, those who were bound with chains, the fitting ornaments of saints, the crowns of those who are truly chosen of God and our Lord; and that the firm root of your faith, which was preached from ancient times, remains until now, and brings forth fruit to our Lord Jesus Christ.'³ 'I have not assumed to myself the liberty of writing to you these things concerning righteousness; but ye yourselves encouraged me. For neither can I, nor any such as I am, come up to the wisdom of the blessed and renowned Paul, who, being amongst you, in the presence of those who then lived, taught with

¹ xiii.

² xiv.

³ i.

CHAP.
VIII.

exactness and soundness the word of truth ; who, in his absence, also wrote an Epistle to you, into which, if ye diligently look, ye may be able to be edified in the faith delivered unto you, which is the mother of us all, being followed with hope, and led on by love, both towards God and Christ, and towards our neighbour. For if any one hath these things, he hath fulfilled the law of righteousness, for he that hath charity is far from all sin.’¹

‘We are before the eyes of our Lord and God, and must all stand before the judgment seat of Christ, and shall every one give an account of himself. Let us, therefore, so serve him with fear and all reverence, as he himself hath commanded, and as the Apostles who have preached the gospel unto us . . . (have taught us), being zealous of what is good, abstaining from all offence, and from *false brethren*, and from those who bear the name of Christ in hypocrisy, who deceive vain men. For *whosoever confesses not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is Anti-Christ*, and whosoever confesses not his suffering upon the cross is of the devil. And whosoever perverts the oracles of the Lord to his own lusts, and says there is neither resurrection nor judgment, he is the first-born of Satan. Wherefore, leaving the vanity of many, and false doctrines, let us return to the word which was delivered to us from the beginning.’² ‘I trust that ye are well exercised in the Holy Scriptures, and that nothing is hid from you. . . Believe in our Lord Jesus Christ (. . . our everlasting High-priest, the Son of God . . .), and in His Father, who raised Him from the dead.’³ ‘Follow the example of the Lord.’⁴ ‘Be ye safe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and His grace be with you all.’⁵

His last prayer on the stake at Smyrna is recorded in an Epistle of the latter church to that of Philomelius, which Eusebius has transmitted to us, and may be thus rendered : ‘O Lord God Almighty, Father of Thy well-beloved and blessed Son Jesus Christ, through whom we

¹ iii.² vi. & vii.³ xii.⁴ x.⁵ xiv.

have received the knowledge of Thee, the God of angels and powers, and of every creature, and (especially) of the whole race of just men, who live in Thy presence. I bless Thee that Thou hast thought me worthy of this day and of this hour, that I might take my part in the number of Thy martyrs, in the cup of Thy Christ, unto the resurrection of eternal life, both of soul and body, in the incorruptibility of the Holy Spirit, among whom may I be accepted this day in Thy sight, as a rich and acceptable sacrifice, as Thou hast before ordained, and declared, and fulfilled, even Thou, the true God, with whom is no falsehood at all. For this, and for all things else, I praise Thee, I bless Thee, I glorify Thee, with the eternal and heavenly Jesus Christ, Thy beloved Son, with whom to Thee and the Holy Ghost, be glory, both now and to all succeeding ages. Amen.’¹

We gather from these extracts, taken principally from Polycarp’s Epistle, which abounds in New Testament quotations, and more or less direct references to New Testament scriptures, that the martyr taught the wisdom of the blessed and renowned Paul, to which, as to the doctrine of the Divine Word in all ages, he seems especially to refer when writing about ‘the root of faith preached from ancient times.’ He mentions Paul’s visit to Philippi and his Epistle to that Church. Yet ‘the Apostles’ are also as a body, and directly, referred to as the preachers of the gospel. Since, however, he expresses a hope that no part of the Holy Scriptures were hidden to the Philippians, we are rather led to infer that in some churches that was even then the case, and that some of those scriptures which Polycarp recognised as inspired or holy were regarded as apocryphal, and as such withheld from the public. He warns against false Christians, and false scriptures; and these deceivers and perverters are clearly marked out as docetic gnostics, who denied the humanity of Christ. We shall have to point out,

¹ II. E. iv. 15.

CHAP.
VIII.

when considering the paschal dispute, which caused Polycarp's journey to Rome, that his presence in that city was the cause of 'many' turning from such 'heretics' as Valentinus, Marcion, and the rest of those perverse teachers, according to the testimony of Irenæus. Although, therefore, at the time of Ignatius, in the very beginning of the second century, the Roman church was not tainted by that same heresy, before the middle of that century Marcion and others had gained over to their side many members of the Roman church. According to Polycarp, the true gnosis or knowledge of God is that which was made known by the eternal and heavenly Jesus Christ, who came in the flesh, that is, by the incarnation of the eternal and heavenly Spirit, Word or Wisdom, 'the Saviour of all.'

Justin Martyr.

Justin Martyr was a native of Samaria, and was born in the ancient Sichem about the year 100 A.C., his parents being Gentiles. He early began his philosophical studies at Alexandria, which not satisfying him, he became converted to Christianity. About the year 136 or 138 he settled in Rome, in the beginning of the reign of the Emperor Antoninus Pius. Here he came in contact with Marcion; and the first writing of Justin was directed 'against all the heresies,' especially, it may be presumed, against some of the heresies of this gnostic.

A few years later he probably wrote his great Apology of Christianity, which he presented to the Emperor. The dialogue with Trypho is the record of a discussion, real or fictitious, 'which he held at Ephesus,'¹ with this Jew, 'the most distinguished among the Hebrews of the day.' His second apology may have been written about the year 150, and if so, about fifteen years before his martyrdom.

There is a very marked distinction between his manner

¹ H. E. iv. 18.

of teaching Christian doctrines, and that of Ignatius, and his predecessor Clement of Rome. But this is best explained by the circumstances under which he composed all writings which we know. He pleads for the protection of Christians before the Emperor and Senate of Rome, and he tries to convert a Jew to Christianity. This leads him on the one side to dwell so much on the connection between the doctrines of Christians and those of pre-Christian philosophy; and on the other side, it compels him to follow a peculiar line of argumentation, from which we must be careful not to infer that he would have chosen it under circumstances more genial to the exposition of the true doctrine of and about Christ. We shall first refer to those parts of his great apology, which must here be considered, referring the reader to our gospel investigations for the remainder.¹

‘We are accused of being Christians, but to hate that which is good (which “Chrestus” implies) is manifestly unjust.’² As some who have been taught by our Master, Christ, not to deny him, even when tortured, exhort (others to embrace the faith); so it may happen that men of evil lives may afford a pretence to others, who are anxious to accuse all Christians of impiety and injustice. But this too is unjustly done. For many assume the name and garb of philosophy, who act not at all in conformity with their character.’³ Having shown that evil demons in times of old were styled ‘gods’ by ignorant men under their influence, Justin writes: ‘And when Socrates, in a spirit of true wisdom and research, endeavoured to bring all this to light . . . the demons themselves so wrought by the hands of men who delighted in wickedness, as to put him to death, as an atheist or impious, under the pretence that he was introducing new deities. And so in like manner do they act towards us. For not only

¹ As in our investigations on Ignatius, so in those about Polycarp and Justin Martyr, we give almost all the quotations after the translation of the Rev. T. Chevallier, 2nd ed. 1851.

² iii.

³ iv.

CHAP.
VIII.

was this declared to the Greeks by Socrates, *at the suggestion of right reason*, but also in other lands, by *reason, even the Word itself*, which *appeared* in a bodily form, and was *made man* and was called Jesus Christ.¹ . . We confess, indeed, that we are unbelievers of such pretended gods, but not of the most true God, the Father of righteousness and temperance, and of all other virtues, in whom is no mixture of evil. But we worship and adore Him, and His Son, who came out of Him, and hath taught us respecting these things, and respecting the host of the other good angels, who follow Him and are made like unto Him, and the Prophetic Spirit, honouring them in reason and in truth.'²

'In the same manner as among the Greeks, those who hold any peculiar system of opinions are all called by the name of philosophers, although their tenets be opposed to each other; so in other countries the name assumed by all those who either have or profess true wisdom is the same, for all are called Christians.³ . . Out of our great love of an eternal and pure life, we desire to converse with God, the Father and Creator of all things, and hasten to confess, inasmuch as we believe and are sure that such as show by their works that they follow God, and earnestly long to converse with Him, in the place where no evil assaults them, shall be able to attain to those blessings. Such then, to speak briefly, are our expectations; such are the doctrines which, through Christ, we have learned and teach. Now, Plato in like manner declared that Rhadamanthus and Minos will punish the wicked who shall come to them. The event of which we speak is the same, but we say that it will be accomplished by Christ, and that both souls and bodies will be united, and punished with eternal torments, and not, as he declares, for a thousand years only.⁴ We imagine not that God hath such a bodily shape as some pretend to imitate, to his honour; and

¹ v.² vi.³ vii.⁴ viii.

are persuaded that these images have not the form of God, but the names and figures of those evil demons which have appeared . . . In our opinion, this is not only unreasonable, but offers great dishonour to God, who, although he possesses a glory and form which are inexpressible, is thus named after corruptible things, and such as require care to preserve them.’¹ Having stated that God in the beginning made ‘all things of unformed matter,’ and created men ‘from nothing,’ Justin proceeds: ‘To exist at the beginning was not in our own power. But to obey what is conformable to His will, *making our choice by means of the rational faculties* with which he hath endowed us, persuades us and leads us to faith. And we consider it to be of the utmost importance to every man, that he be not forbidden to learn these things, but be exhorted and persuaded to embrace them. For that which human laws never could have effected, *the Word, which is Divine, would have (already) performed*, had not the evil demons disseminated many false and impious accusations, of which we are entirely guiltless, availing themselves of the assistance of that proneness to evil, which, although various in its kind, exists in every man.’²

‘If ye also . . . honour established practices more than truth, then do what ye can; and the utmost that even princes can do, who honour the opinions (of men) more than the truth, is but as much as robbers in the desert could. And that your labour will be in vain the Word himself declares, than whom, with God his Father, we know no prince more royal and more just.’³ Our teacher the Son and Apostle of God the Father and Lord of all things, even Jesus Christ, from whom also we have obtained the name of Christians, hath foretold to us that all these things would come to pass . . . For this is the work of God (only), to declare events before they happen, and manifestly to bring them to pass, even as they were

¹ ix.² x.³ xiii.

CHAP.
VIII.

predicted.¹ . . We have learned, that He who taught us these things, and for this end was born, even Jesus Christ, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, the procurator of Judea in the time of Tiberius Cæsar, was the Son of Him who is truly God, and we esteem him in the second place. And that we with reason honour the prophetic Spirit in the third place, we shall hereafter show. For upon this point they accuse us of madness, saying that we give the second place after the unchangeable and eternal God, the Creator of all things, to a man who was crucified ; (and this they do) being ignorant of the mystery which is in this matter, to which we exhort you to take heed while we explain it.² . . . In like manner, as we also, *since we have been obedient to the Word*, abstain from such things, and through the Son follow *the only unbegotten God*.³ His (Christ's) words were short and concise, for he was no sophist, but *his word was the power of God*.⁴ That we should worship *God only* he thus taught us.⁵

‘ If then in some things we hold the same opinions with the poets and philosophers, whom ye honour, and in others entertain views more sublime and more worthy of the Divine nature, and if we alone are able to prove what we say, why are we unjustly hated above all men ? And when we affirm that the Word, which is the first-begotten of God, was born without carnal knowledge, even Jesus Christ our Master, and that he was crucified and died and rose again, and ascended into heaven, we advance no new thing different from what is maintained respecting those whom ye call the sons of Jupiter.⁶ But Jesus who is called the Son of God, even if he had been but a man in the ordinary sense, would yet by His wisdom have deserved to be called the Son of God ; for all writers call Him God, who is the Father of gods and men ; but if we say that he was begotten of God, in a manner far different from ordinary generation, being the Word of God, as we have before said,

¹ xiv.² xvi.³ xvii.⁴ xviii.⁵ xxi. ; Mat. iv. 10 ; xix. 16, 17.⁶ xxviii.

let this be considered a correspondence with your own tenets, when ye call Mercury the word who bears messages from God . . . Again, if we affirm that he was born of a virgin, let this be considered a point in which he agrees with what ye (fabulously) ascribe to Perseus. And whereas we say, that He made those whole who were lame, palsied, and blind from their birth, and raised the dead; in this too we ascribe to him actions similar to those which are said to have been performed by Esculapius.¹ Jesus Christ, who alone was properly born the Son of God, being his Word, and First-begotten, and power, and by his counsel made man, hath taught us these things, for the reformation and improvement of the human race. Before he was made man and dwelt among men, some . . . declared, through the fictions which the poets uttered, that these events had already happened.'²

Having mentioned Simon and Menander of Samaria as among the first deceivers, Justin adds: 'There is also Marcion of Pontus, who is even now teaching his followers to profess that there is some other God, greater than he who created the world. This man, through the assistance of evil Spirits, hath caused many in every nation to speak blasphemies, and to deny that the Creator of the Universe was God, maintaining that some one else of superior power hath exceeded that Creator, by executing greater works. And yet all who have sprung from these sects, as we have stated, are called Christians.'³ . . . And that no one may advance this objection against us: "What should hinder us from believing that he who by us is called Christ was a man of merely human origin, who performed the wonders which we speak of, by magical art, and on that account was considered to be the Son of God?" we will proceed now to bring forward a proof.⁴ . . . Now in the books of the prophets we find it predicted that Jesus, our Christ, should come, should be born of a virgin, and be made man; that he should heal every disease, and all manner of sickness,

¹ xxx.² xxxi.³ xxxv.⁴ xxxvii.

CHAP.
VIII.

and raise the dead; that he should be enviously treated and not be known, that he should be crucified and die, and rise again, and ascend into heaven; that he should be the Son of God, and so be called; that some should be sent by him to preach these things to every nation of mankind, and that men of the Gentiles should especially believe in him.'¹

This 'proof' Justin substantiates in the following manner. 'Moses then, who was the first of the prophets, wrote *in these very words*: A prince shall not fail from Judah, nor a ruler from beneath his feet, until He shall come, for whom it is reserved; and He shall be the expectation of the Gentiles, binding His colt to a vine, washing His garment in the blood of the grape.' This passage is thus explained by Justin. Judah was 'the ancestor of the Jews, from whom also they received their name;' it was 'until the appearing of Jesus Christ . . . the interpreter of the prophecies which were not understood,' that they 'continued to have a ruler and a king.' But according to prophecy, 'since Christ hath appeared,' the Romans have 'reigned over the Jews, and possessed all their country.' Again, 'the expression, "he shall be the expectation of the Gentiles," implied that men of all nations should expect him to come again,' which is assumed as a fact, since 'out of all nations of men, they look for him who was crucified in Judea; after whom the land of the Jews was immediately subjugated and given up' to the Romans.² 'The words, "binding his colt to a vine, and washing his garments in the blood of the grape," were a sign representing what should be done to Christ, and what He should Himself perform.' Justin explains this passage by stating, that 'an ass's colt was standing in a certain village, bound to a vine,' on which Christ rode into Jerusalem. 'And after this He was crucified, that the rest of the prophecy might be fulfilled. For the words, "washing His garment in the blood of the grape," predicted His passion which He was to undergo, cleansing

¹ xxxix.

² xl.

by His blood those who believe in Him. For that which is called by the prophet in the Holy Spirit His garment, are the men which believe in Him, *in whom dwells the seed which is from God, even the Word*. And that which is called "the blood of the grape," indicates that he who was to appear should have indeed blood, but that he should have it by Divine power, and not of human seed. And the principal power *after* God the Father and Lord of all things, is the Son, the Word; . . . for as not man, but God hath made the blood of the vine, so this intimated that the blood should not be of human seed, but of the power of God.¹

'Isaiah also, another prophet, predicting the same things in different words, thus spake: "There shall come a star of Jacob, and a flower shall spring from the branch of Jesse, and upon his arm shall the Gentiles hope." Now a shining star did rise, and a flower did spring from the root of Jesse, even this Christ. For through the power of God he was born of a virgin of the seed of Jacob, the father of Judah, who hath been shown to be the father of the Jews. Moreover Jesse was his progenitor according to the prophecy, and he was the son of Jacob and Judah *by natural descent*.² And again, hear how expressly it was predicted by Isaiah that he should be born of a virgin. For thus it was spoken: "Behold a virgin shall conceive and bear a son, and they shall say of his name: God with us." For the things which appeared to be incredible and impossible with men, those did God predict by the prophetic Spirit, that when they came to pass they should not be disbelieved, but believed, inasmuch as they were before declared.' Justin having further explained the meaning of this prophecy in its literal sense, he thus quotes, probably from a harmony of the gospels, the message of the angel to Mary: 'Behold thou shalt conceive in thy womb by the Holy Ghost, and shalt bear a son, and he shall be called the Son of the Highest;

¹ xli.² xlii.

CHAP.
VIII.

and thou shalt call His name Jesus, for He shall save His people from their sins.' And he adds: 'Thus *they* who have recorded all things concerning our Saviour Jesus Christ, have taught; whom we believe, since the prophetic Spirit also declared, as we have shown by the above-mentioned Isaiah, that he should be so born.'

'Moses, therefore, the prophet already quoted, declares that we are not permitted to consider *the Spirit and the power which is from God, to be any other than the Word*, which is also the first-begotten of God,' and which, as Justin explains, overshadowed the virgin, whilst also in all ages it inspired the prophets.¹ 'Now when ye hear the sayings of the prophets, as if they were delivered by some one person, imagine not that they are said by the inspired writers themselves, but by the Divine Word which moved them. For sometimes it prophetically declares what shall come to pass hereafter; sometimes it speaks as in the person of God the Father and Lord of all; sometimes as in the person of Christ, and sometimes as in the person of the people who answer to the Lord or to His Father.'² We have before explained that Christ was the first-begotten of God, being *the Word or reason*, of which *all men were partakers*. *They then who lived agreeably to reason were really Christians*, even if they were considered atheists, such as Socrates, Heraclitus, and the like among the Greeks, and among other nations, Abraham, Ananias, Azarias, Misael, and Elias, and many others. . . . *Those therefore who of old lived without right reason, the same were bad men, and enemies to Christ*, and the murderers of those who lived agreeably to reason. Whereas they who ever lived, or now live in a manner which reason would approve, are truly Christians, and free from fear or trouble.'³ Plato, . . . as well as we ourselves, have all learned that the whole world was made by the Word of God, from what was related . . . by Moses.'⁴

¹ xliii.-xliv.² xli.³ lxi.⁴ lxxvi.

Justin then states that according to Plato, God impressed the Son of God (that is, 'the virtue which was next to the Supreme God') upon the universe in the form of a cross; thus referring to what he had read about the serpent in the wilderness, and that he distinguished from the Son the Spirit of God, of which he had read in the writings of Moses, that it was 'carried over the waters.' It was Christ who spake with Moses 'in the appearance of fire out of a bush.'¹ Justin now shows that the Divine Word, or reason, in which all men participate, and which constitutes in man the Divine seed, is the cause of man's new birth. 'Christ said: "Except ye be born again, ye may not enter into the kingdom of heaven;" and that it is impossible that those who are once born should again enter their mothers' wombs, is evident to all.'² The Apostles have also taught us for what reason this new birth is necessary. Since at our *first* birth we were born without our knowledge or consent, by the ordinary natural means, and were brought up in bad habits and evil instructions, in order that we may no longer remain the children of necessity or of ignorance, but may become the children of choice and judgment, and may obtain in the water remission of the sins which we have before committed, the name of God the Father and Lord of the Universe, is pronounced over him who is willing to be born again, and hath repented of his sins. . . And he who is so enlightened is baptised also in the name of Jesus Christ, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and in the name of the Holy Spirit, who by the prophets foretold all things concerning Jesus.³ It is He "*Who before was the Word, and appeared sometimes in the form of fire, and sometimes in the image of incorporeal beings, but hath now by the will of God, and for the sake of mankind been made man.*"⁴ Even as Jesus Christ, our Saviour, being made flesh by the Word of God, had both

¹ lxxvii. and lxxxi.² lxxix.³ lxxx.⁴ lxxxiii.

CHAP.
VIII.

flesh and blood for our salvation, even so we are taught that *the food* which is blessed by the prayer of the Word, which came from him, by the conversion of which our blood and flesh are nourished, *is* the flesh and blood of that Jesus who was made flesh.¹

These extracts from the Great Apology lead us to the following conclusions: Justin the philosopher learned his doctrines about Christ from an Anti-Paulinic Judaizer, who seems to have belonged to a gnostic sect opposed to that of Cerinthus, and rather more akin to that of Apollos, or whoever the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews may have been.² Thus it is that we meet in the writings of Justin with two different and antagonistic streams, which it is impossible to unite. As Philo in his writings gives us a mixture of Oriental and of Greek philosophy, applied to Judaism, so Justin moves between the two poles of Judaism and gnosticism, which he vainly attempts harmoniously to combine. Like Philo's writings, we may regard those of Justin more as a compendium of Jewish and extreme gnostic doctrines, than as the expression of that good deposit which the Apostles had transmitted. He seems to represent the state of transition from an anti-gnostic to a gnostic Christian. Although it is most probably a harmony of the first three gospels from which he quotes, yet he knows and insists upon the great doctrine of the sonship or new birth, which had constituted the centre of the Lord's secret doctrine, and which was in Christ's words recorded in John's gospel. To one of the Lord's secret sayings he directly refers, although at that time this apostolic apocryphal record does not seem to have been published, or generally recognised. The want of harmony in his doctrines about the Divine and the human nature of Christ, and also the want of authority for some of his doctrines, forms a void which the Gospel of Paul would have filled up. But neither is the great Apostle, nor are his writings, directly referred to.

¹ lxxxvi.² See Dialogue with Trypho.

Justin agrees with Paul and John as far as the Divine nature of Christ is concerned ; but he strongly opposes the cardinal apostolic doctrine, that, ‘ concerning the flesh,’ Christ came ‘ of’ or ‘ from’ the Israelites ;¹ that, according to the flesh, Christ was made of the seed of David, whilst, according to the spirit of sanctification, he was the Son of God.² The spirit of sanctification, the Spirit of God, by which all men can be moved, the spirit of adoption, through which Jesus was made the Christ, and through which Christ is formed in His followers, is by Justin called the Divine Word or Reason, of which all men of all ages were participators. Were it not for the literal and carnal interpretation of the passage in the prophets about a so-called ‘ virgin,’ Justin would have been a disciple of Paul, and therefore his doctrine would have been the pure doctrine of Christ. Had there existed at that time an apostolic account of the supposed *absolutely* superhuman birth of Jesus, on which Justin repeatedly insists, he could not possibly have failed to refer to it, when trying to prove by Scripture-quotations an assertion which may possibly have caused his death. In order more fully to consider his interpretation of this virgin-prophecy, from which alone he can be admitted to have adduced even a show of authority for his deductions, we shall now consider those parts of his dialogue with Trypho which refer to this subject.³

‘ Now, said Trypho, . . . that which you assert, Dialogue. namely, that this Christ is God, who existed from all eternity, and that He afterwards condescended to be born and made man, and that He was not man of man, seems to me not only incredible but also absurd. . . . Trypho, said I, this foundation, will stand sure, namely, that He is the Christ of God, *even though I should not be able to prove that He did pre-exist as the Son of the Creator of*

¹ Rom. ix. 5.² Rom. i. 3, 4.³ We quote Brown’s text as republished, 1846.

CHAP.
VIII.

the universe, and was God, and was made man of a virgin. But since it has been fully proved that He is the Christ of God, whatsoever He is, if I shall not be able to prove (the above) . . . it will be more reasonable only to say *that I was mistaken in this point*, but not to deny that He is the Christ, though He should seem to you to be made man of man, and nothing more could be proved than *that He was made Christ by election*. For there are some of our profession who acknowledge Him to be the Christ, though they say that He was made man of man, with whom I cannot agree, nor could I if the greatest part of us should assert the same. For we were commanded by Christ not to believe the doctrines of men, but those which the holy prophets have published and Christ Himself hath taught.¹ 'They, said Trypho, who say that He was made man of man, and that He was anointed and made Christ by election, seem to me to speak that which is much more credible than they amongst you who say as you say. For we all expect a Christ to be born that will be man of man, and that Elias shall anoint Him when He is come. But if He would be thought to be the Christ, it is necessary we should know that He was made man of man. And because Elias is not yet come, we do not believe that He is the Christ.'

'Here I asked him whether the prophet Malachi did not say that Elias was to come before the great and dreadful day of the Lord? Yes, answered he. If the scripture, then, forces you to own that the prophecies mentioned a twofold coming of Christ, . . . should we not think that the Word of God did foretel that Elias, his forerunner, should come before the dreadful and great day, that is, His second coming? Yes, said he. That it shall be so, said I, our Lord has taught us in His Gospel, when He said that Elias shall come. And this we are sure will come to pass, when our Lord Jesus Christ shall come from heaven in His glory. At whose

¹ xlviii.

first coming *the herald that went before Him was the Spirit of God*, which had been in Elias, in John, a prophet of your nation, since whom no prophet hath arisen amongst you. . . . That which you have now asserted, said Trypho, seems to me very incredible, namely, that the Spirit which was in Elias was also in John. To which I answered: Are you not aware that the same thing was done to Jesus the Son of Nave (or "Nun"), who took upon him the government of the people after Moses? When Moses was commanded to lay his hands upon Jesus, God Himself said, "And I will take of the Spirit which is upon Thee, and will put it upon him." Yes, said he. Therefore, said I, as God, while Moses was yet alive, did take of the spirit of Moses and put it upon Jesus, so God might cause the spirit of Elias to come upon John; that as Christ at His first coming appeared to be an inglorious mortal, so also *the first coming of that Spirit*, which was always pure, perfect, and entire in Elias, was, as well as the first coming of Christ, always understood to be inglorious.¹

Justin having tried to prove from Isaiah that John was Christ's forerunner, that Jacob prophesied of the twofold advent of Christ, that Jacob foretold that Christ should ride upon an ass, which was also confirmed by Zacharias, repeats his explanation of the passage about the blood of the grape, and states, that *with those* who have through Christ received remission of their sins, and who are the garments of Christ, '*the Holy Ghost . . . is always present by his power, and will be conspicuously so at his second advent.*'² And having been repeatedly urged by Trypho and his companions to prove that 'there was, or that the Holy Ghost spoke of any other God or Lord besides the Creator of all things,'³ Justin produces another proof from the Scriptures, 'to show that God did from all creation beget of Himself a beginning, a certain rational power,

¹ xlix.² liv.³ lv.

CHAP.
VIII.

which by the *Holy Ghost* is called also the *Glory of the Lord*, and sometimes the *Son*, sometimes *Wisdom*, sometimes an *Angel*, and sometimes *God*, and sometimes the *Lord*, and the *Logos* or *Word*, and once, when he appeared to Jesus the Son of Nave, in the form of a man, he calls himself the *Captain*. . . . Just as we see also that one fire is lighted from another without diminishing that which it is lighted from, that still continuing to be the same ; and that which is lighted does really exist, but does not diminish that from which it was lighted. And the Word of Wisdom shall testify for me, who is very God, begotten of the Father of all things, and really is the *Logos* or *Word*, and *Wisdom*, and *Power*, and *Glory* of Him that begot him, who thus spake by Solomon.'¹

' Does not this saying of Isaiah :—" Who shall declare His generation ? because His life is taken away from the earth," seem to intimate that he whom God delivered unto death for the iniquities of the people had not his original from man ? Concerning whose blood, Moses also, as I said before, spake figuratively, " that He should wash His garment in the blood of the grape," because His blood was not of human extraction but by the will of God. And that which is spoken by David : " In the beauty of thy saints, from the womb have I begotten Thee before the morning star. The Lord swear, and will not repent, Thou art a Priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec."'² Does it not prove that it was fixed long before, that the God and Father of all things should beget Him also of the womb of a woman ? And in other words . . he says : " Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever ; the sceptre of Thy kingdom is a sceptre of equity ; Thou hast loved righteousness and hated iniquity, therefore God, Thy God, hath anointed Thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows."'³

To this argumentation Trypho opposes three principal

¹ lxi. ; Prov. viii. 21, &c. ² Comp. Ps. cx. 3, 4. ³ lxiii. ; comp. Ps. xlv.

objections. 'The Scripture does not say: "Behold a virgin shall conceive and bear a son," but: "Behold a young woman shall conceive and bear a son," and so on, as you said. And this whole prophecy relates to Hezekiah, as does plainly appear from the completion of it.' Then Trypho implies that this fable about Christ's birth is not dissimilar to the old Grecian fable about Perseus being 'born of the virgin Danaë; Jupiter, as they call him, coming down upon her in a shower of gold.' And, finally, he very adroitly brings forward an undoubted Messianic prophecy, and shows that if taken literally, as Justin reads the prophecy about the virgin, it renders impossible any other than the usual kind of birth for the Messiah. 'How then,' said Trypho, 'does the Scripture say to David, that God *will take to Himself a son from his loins*, and will establish the kingdom to him, and set him upon the throne of His glory.' The passage referred to by Trypho is the following: 'The Lord hath sworn in truth unto David, he will not turn from it: *of the fruit of thy body* will I set upon thy throne. If thy children will keep my covenant and my testimony that I *shall* teach them, their children shall also sit upon thy throne for evermore. For the Lord hath chosen Zion, he hath desired it for his habitation. . . There will I make the horn of David to bud.¹ I have ordained a lamp for mine anointed.'² To this grave objection Justin replies thus: 'If this prophecy, "Behold a virgin shall conceive," was not spoken to the house of David, but to some other house of the twelve tribes, the matter might perhaps admit of some doubt; but as this prophecy is spoken to the house of David, that which God spoke to David *in a figure* is by Isaiah explained how it was to come to pass, unless you are ignorant, . . . that many things were said and done obscurely in parables, types, and figures, which the prophets that succeeded those that said and did them explained.'³

¹ Comp. Jer. xxxiii. 15; Isaiah xi. 1, 10; xlviii. 14, 15; xxvii. 6.

² Ps. cxxxii. 11-17.

³ lxxviii.

CHAP.
VIII.

It must be admitted that on this point the better argument is not on the side of Justin but of Trypho. The one prophecy clearly refers to the Son of David, the Messiah; the other cannot refer to the same, or it would render of none effect and disannul the former. We have already pointed out that Isaiah's prophecy about the virgin refers to God's coming to his temple, to the outpouring of His Spirit to the Immanuel-Israel of the latter days. Every attempt to prove the birth from a virgin by Old Testament quotations must fail. As to the New Testament, Justin's writings prove, that up to the middle of the second century no apostolic, or supposed apostolic, account existed, of the exceptional and miraculous birth of the child Jesus by a virgin. Since already in the first century written sayings of Christ were referred to as authoritative, and as Justin admits of no other than scriptural arguments, his not referring to such an account, or at least to such a tradition, for neither of which we have any authority dating from those times, must be taken into serious consideration by the true disciples of Christ. Jews and Christians were right if they rejected this docetic doctrine of Justin Martyr.

Marcion.

We have begun the history of the Roman church by pointing out under what circumstances Paul came to Rome and died there. Then we showed what must have been the state of that Church in the time of Clement, Paul's contemporary; and that the reverence for this Apostle and his doctrine, if it was general in Rome after his death, soon made way for the renewal of Judaizing tendencies, which the writer of the Shepherd very cautiously tries to correct, not by pointing out the error, but by suggesting the truth. Having considered the relations between Christian gnosticism and anti-Christian

doceticism, we showed that the Epistles of Ignatius are principally directed against the docetic heresy, though some churches were warned against Judaisers. We observed that the Roman church was by Ignatius commended for being 'entirely cleansed' from the stain of heretical doctrine, whilst already Polycarp had to oppose Marcion in Rome, and whilst Justin Martyr accused the civil power in that city to have permitted Simon Magus as well as Marcion to preach their (docetic) doctrines without restraint.

After the fall of Jerusalem, Rome had naturally taken the place of the mother-church. Here it was, that towards the middle of the second century, such men as Valentinus, Justin, Hegesippus, Polycarp, and Marcion met for the purpose of discussing questions relating to the Christian church. Epiphanius informs us,¹ that Marcion began his address to the elders of the Roman church by asking them what was the meaning of Christ's words referring to the joining of a piece of a new garment upon an old, and to the putting of new wine into old bottles.² This opening address of the great reformer, whom all the fathers accuse of having wilfully falsified the Holy Scriptures, clearly points to his leading doctrine,³ according to which the gospel, or that which is new, must not be joined or mixed up with the old, that is with the law. If this were done, the old must be necessarily destroyed by the new. Better then to give up the old forms altogether, and to pour the new wine into new bottles.

In this place we have only to consider the cause of the marked antagonism between Polycarp and Marcion. Polycarp's Epistle plainly shows, that the 'false brethren' in his day were those who maintained with Marcion, that Christ has not come in the flesh. As the leader of this anti-Christian doctrine, Marcion would be openly attacked by Polycarp, and we may safely assume that the expression, 'the first-born of Satan,' was intended to be understood

¹ Haer. xlii. 2

² Luke v. 36, 37.

³ Tert. adv. Marc. i. 19.

CHAP.
VIII.

by the Philippians as referring to this man of Sinopé. For Eusebius has transmitted to us the following account of Irenæus. Having stated that Polycarp had been instructed by the Apostles, who appointed him as bishop in Asia, he writes : ‘He always taught what he had learned from the Apostles, what the Church had handed down, and what is the only true doctrine. All the churches bear witness to these things, and those that have been the successors of Polycarp to the present time, a witness of the truth far more worthy of credit, and much more certain than either Valentine or Marcion, or the rest of those *perverse teachers*. The same Polycarp coming to Rome under the episcopate of Anicetus, turned many of the aforesaid heretics to the Church of God, proclaiming the one and only true faith, that he had received from the Apostles, that namely which was delivered by the Church. And there are those still living who heard him relate, that John the disciple of the Lord went into a bath at Ephesus, and seeing Cerinthus within, ran out without bathing, and exclaimed : “Let us flee, lest the bath should fall in, as long as Cerinthus, that enemy of truth, is within.” And the same Polycarp once coming and meeting Marcion, who said : “Acknowledge us,” he replied, “I acknowledge (or salute) the first-born of Satan.” Such caution did the Apostles and their disciples use, so as not to have even any communion, even in word, with any of those that thus mutilated the truth ; according to the declaration of Paul : “An heretical man after the first and second admonition avoid, knowing that such an one is perverse, and that he sins, bringing condemnation upon himself.”’¹

If then Polycarp has called Marcion the first-born of Satan, the censure which he has expressed in that same Epistle against those ‘who pervert the oracles of the Lord,’ may be principally directed against him. This mutilation of scripture is what Irenæus,² Epiphanius, and others

¹ H. E. iv. 14.² Haer. iii. 12, 10.

repeatedly affirm. But the best proof lies in the fact, that he only recognised one Apostle, that is Paul, and one gospel, which has been identified with the Gospel after Luke,¹ the text of which he had systematically falsified. Of the doctrines of Marcion we have only to consider more minutely those which referred to doceticism. Marcion's principal object was, to show that Christianity, as he conceived it, is something essentially new, whilst there is no essential difference between heathenism and Judaism. The God of the Christians is not the God of the Jews, and the Christ of the Christians is not the Christ of Israel. The lower or second God, the creator of the world or Demiurg, is the God of the Jews, whilst the Almighty and Eternal God is only the God of the Christians. The former has given the law, the latter the gospel. *The Messiah foretold by Israel's prophets has nothing else to do than to bring about the return of the Jews from the captivity; but the Christ of the Christians is the universal Messiah, whose kingdom is an heavenly and eternal one.*² This Christ stands in no relation either to the Creator of the world, the Demiurg, or to the world. He is a spirit, and cannot be connected with matter of any kind; He cannot therefore become incarnate. Christ is not the real but the apparent incarnation of that Divine Word or Son of God, who alone knows the Father and is known by Him, as well as by those to whom He will reveal it.³ According to 'the great anti-Christian Marcion,' as Tertullian calls him, the Christ of the Christians was a phantom, who at the synagogue of Capernaum suddenly appeared in the form of a full-grown man, for the purpose of protesting against the law and the prophets.⁴ Neither

¹ See Volkmar's 'Evangelium Marcion,' 1852.

² Comp. Baur's 'Christl. Gnosis,' p. 255 f.

³ Hilgenfeld has rendered probable that Marcion has transmitted to us this saying of Christ, of which the gnostics made so much in its original form: 'No one knew the Father save the Son, nor the Son than the Father, and he to whomsoever He will reveal Him.'

⁴ Tert. iv. 7.

CHAP
VIII

was His suffering nor His death a real one; it was the last scene of his apparition, which was followed by His descending into hell.

It is absolutely certain that the Gospel of Luke was known to Marcion, who recognised no other. From this it follows that he necessarily knew Matthew's gospel, and also that of Mark, though possibly not in the form transmitted to us. It is impossible to prove or disprove that the text of Luke's gospel, which Marcion knew, was somewhat different from the one transmitted to us. The extracts from Marcion's gospel, which Tertullian and Epiphanius have transmitted to us, may not suffice for either of the above assertions. But they enable us to insist upon the fact that Marcion's gospel was essentially an altered edition of Luke's gospel, and that his principal alterations were caused by the difference between his doctrine and that of Paul.¹ It is by his Anti-Paulinic docetic view about the person of Christ that Marcion's most important alterations can be explained, such as the omission of the entire early history of Jesus. Others denote the writer's intention to carry out more fully than Luke had done the peculiar principles of Paul. Thus the Lord was by Marcion recorded to have said, in Paul's anti-nomistic sense, that not one tittle of *His words*, instead of the law, should fail.² Another modification of the gospel-text may be noticed which refers to Marcion's anti-apostolic views about the God of the Christians not being the God of the Jews, and therefore not the God of the whole earth. In the parallel passage to Luke x. 21, Jesus is by Marcion recorded to have addressed God the Father as the 'Lord of Heaven,' and not as the 'Lord of Heaven and Earth.' These extracts suffice to confirm the testimony of Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, Epiphanius, and others, according to which Marcion falsified the gospel-text. It is probable that he did not commence

¹ See Hilgenfeld's 'Krit. Untersuchungen,' 1850.

² Luke xvi. 17.

his work of gospel-forgery till after Justin's death, who does not refer to him as a falsifier of Holy Writ. CHAP.
VIII.

With regard to John's gospel, all that can be said with certainty is, that if Marcion had known the same he would have recognised and referred to it, even if at that time it had not been generally acknowledged as an apostolic work. He would have been spared the trouble of recomposing Luke's gospel, and would have been much more satisfied with the Gospel after John as we possess it. Instead of avoiding Luke's accounts about the birth of Jesus, his childhood, baptism, and temptation, he would have clung to a gospel, according to which, as we shall see, no one really knew whence Jesus was, nor anything about his birth, childhood, or temptation. And as to his baptism, Marcion's objection must have been, that it apparently placed the Baptist on a footing with Christ, if not above him.¹ Already in Luke's gospel, as in Matthew's, it had been shown that the Baptist spoke of Christ as of one mightier than himself; but in these gospels Christ was baptised by John, as all those were who had flocked to Jordan, where the Baptist then was. And though both Evangelists speak of Christ as one who was to baptise with the Holy Ghost, yet it was only on the occasion of His being baptised by John that the Holy Ghost descended upon him, of whose pre-existence, either in the body or in the spirit, nothing is said. And this equality of Jesus and of John was rendered no doubt even more objectionable in the one gospel of Luke which he alone recognised, inasmuch as here no notice was taken of the Baptist's hesitation to baptise Jesus, which was recorded by Matthew.² This objection is, however, entirely met in the Gospel after John by the Baptist's declaration that

¹ For a similar reason Marcion may have altered in the parallel passage to Luke xv. 10, the words: 'There is joy in the presence of the angels of God,' into: 'in the presence of God.' It might be supposed that the angels had from the beginning been in the presence of God, and this would have lowered the position of the Word.

² Mat, iii. 14.

